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the Afro-Asian Journalist

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No. 5

August-September 1968

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-COLONIALIST | PAN-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

DEDICATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION AND ABSOLUTE UNITY OF AFRICA

THE SPARK, P.O. BOX M 171, ACCRA, GHANA.

Progressive Review.

* A PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC, BI MONTHLY REVIEW, WITH A SOUTH EAST ASIA BASIS.....
* FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING.
* ANTI — IMPERIALIST AND ANTI — COLONIALIST.

PROGRESSIVE REVIEW, 2859 RIZAL AVENUE EXT, MANILA, PHILIPPINES.

Africa Latin America Asia
REVOLUTION

AN INDISPENSABLE ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY WITH WORLD WIDE COVERAGE OF PEOPLES MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS.
REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM AT ITS HEIGHT.

les nouvelles éditions internationales 52, rue galande, paris 5ème, france

editorial

the Afro-Asian Journalist

REMOVING THE VEIL

By
Joesoef
Deputy
Secretary-General

The current international events that took place during the past month, have yielded a host of experience and taught many invaluable lessons to the revolutionaries as well as to the people who could not make up their mind and those people who all the time had a wrong evaluation or cherished illusions towards the US. Only the fools, the die-hards and the hypocrite revolutionaries could not or did not want to learn the lessons or draw the correct conclusions from the sequence of crimes committed by the United States in Asia and Africa. In Asia, they — the US imperialists — have been enacting a dirty play in the Gulf of Tonkin drenched in blood, while in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia they have interfered in the most callous way. At the same time the Johnson Government has given active support to the "Malaysia" Federation ruled by its stooge Tungku Abdurrachman, a duplicate of the "Central African Federation" with its Wellensky, that has been forced into being in Southeast Asia. In Africa the US is also creating disorder. In the heart of this big continent, the fatherland of Patrice Lumumba, US imperialism is carrying out military intervention. In the Congo (Leo) the United States of America is openly assisting the most detestable person in Africa Moishe Tshombe with arms and military personnel in order to thwart the liberation movement of the Congo People. Thousands of Mali and Congo (Braz) people have been expelled from Congo (Leo) in a most brutal way by Tshombe, who recently has sold himself completely to US imperialism.

No need to elaborate here on the detailed facts of the US aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The world knows quite well the lies cooked up by the Johnson government about the "attacks" of the DRV ships on the US destroyer "Maddox" in the Gulf of Tonkin. Not just to the enemies but to their allies too, the lies of the US are shamelessly too big to be believed this time. Consequently : the US position has never before been so forced into a corner as at present, they are completely isolated. Their allies do not trust them, while through the whole Asia and Africa an anti-American wave is raging.

The national independence movements after the military force show put up by the US before the DRV as well as after the interventions launched in other places in Asia and Africa, have not been frightened at all, but they have on the contrary become more militant and have gained more experience. In South Vietnam, the people have immediately requitted the US acts by throwing the dictatorial regime of Nguyen Khan, which is being backed by the US imperialists, into confusion. In Indonesia, on the anniversary of the August 17 Proclamation, President Sukarno has without hesitation, in his official speech, branded the US imperalists as aggressors.

The total boycott of the Indonesian People of US films, already entering its fourth month, is still being continued. These patriotic acts signify the direct reply of the Indonesian People to the hostile attitude of Johnson who supports the British neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia" to encircle Indonesia. In Africa, the member countries of the OAU have asked the OAU Council of Ministers to, at once, convene an emergency meeting to determine their attitude in face of the US military intervention in the Congo which is making use of Tshombe, the Congo's Nguyen Khan.

We will not note down here, one by one the anti US wave of demonstrations, solidarity mass meetings in support of the Peoples of Vietnam and the Congo that are being organized all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Indeed, we may say the whole world is condemning the USA ! Only the hypocrite revolutionaries are still lending support to the United States. The hypocrite revolutionaries, in a growing critical situation, knew to do no more than to issue a declaration of a very mild nature which was even published much too late. The last mentioned groups, at crucial moments, evidently much rather want to think of peace and safeguarding themselves and their close relations with the USA, than to stand in solidarity, firmly in the ranks of the revolutionary peoples, who spontaneously have put up a struggle against the insolence and aggression of the USA. This time the US has failed to involve the U.N. in the Indo-Chinese question and particularly in their plan to extend the war from South Vietnam to North Vietnam, as they formerly succeeded to do in their agressive war in Korea. However, we must persist in remaining vigilant. Their failure today definitely does not mean they will not undertake another attempt tomorrow. Imperialists will always be imperialists !

What lessons and conclusions can we draw from all these events ? The following : — that US imperialism is our most dangerous enemy and therefore our main enemy. They themselves have provided the proofs to this fact. It has become evident that they are capable of making war break out at any moment. US imperialism is passionately desirous of filling up the areas vacated by the French, British, Belgium and other imperialists in Southeast Asia and Africa.

— that the main contradiction in the world at present is the one between the movements for national independence and imperialism. For this too, factual proofs are legion. Hundreds of thousands of people have fallen victim in the battle between these two forces. The fate of imperialism will be decided by the AAA Peoples that have shown themselves capable of taking up arms to seize and defend their national independence.

— that the centre or place of this main contradiction lies in Asia, Africa and Latin America and more particularly in Southeast Asia at the moment. Let us consider. At a time when apparent peace and quiet are reigning throughout the European continent as at the present moment at the very time too, struggles, battles and violent turbulence are going on in Asia : in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, North Kalimantan, "Malaysia", Japan ; in Africa : in the Congo, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique ; in Latin America : in Cuba, Venezuela, Panama, Peru, Haiti etc., etc.

After the incidents in Southeast Asia and the Congo, we can now also draw the lesson that Johnson and Goldwater are exactly the same. Each of them constitute the same danger to the national independence movements, the same danger to world peace. Johnson and Goldwater both, are faithful representatives of US imperialism and both vie with each other to become devoted servants of the US monopoly capitalists.

The only difference between the two is that Goldwater speaks more frankly because he is not in the government. While Johnson does not speak openly, but acts in absolute conformity with Goldwater's ideas. The aggression on the DRV, the scheme at extending the war in South Vietnam to the North, the Tonkin Gulf show, the intervention in Laos and Cambodia, the help to Malaysia against Indonesia, the military intervention in the Congo, all these are realisations from what has been said by Goldwater and what was not said by Johnson but what he did carry out. Can there still be people who have the illusion that Johnson is not "quite so bad" compared to Goldwater now that Johnson has dropped his murderous bombs in Vietnam and the Congo ?

Last but not least there is still another lesson of no less importance that we can draw from the Tonkin Gulf experience, which is that we now, have come to know better the appearance of the hypocrite revolutionaries. Those people, who have a passion for shouting from the house-tops about the assistance they bestowed everywhere, at crucial moments turn out unreliable, and that therefore their said assistance will be very difficult to be calculated. For it is exactly at those crucial moments that we learn who are our genuine comrade-in-arms and who the hypocrite comrades! In face of those hypocrite revolutionaries, we must certainly be vigilant, since they speak a revolutionary terminology. But in practice they split the revolutionary ranks with all kinds of bourgeois theories. For instance by saying that Johnson is "better" than Goldwater, that the most dangerous enemy at the moment is no longer the United States, that independence can be obtained solely by peaceful means, etc. etc. Do not such theories make people fall into a coma and are they not a danger to the revolutionary movement for national independence ?

The irony of all ironies is that at the very moment when the hypocrite revolutionaries were raising a hue and cry over the Partial Test Ban Treaty, extolling to the sky the "correctness" of their evaluation that the nature of US imperialism has been changing for the better, at the moment when these hypocrite revolutionaries were celebrating the first anniversary of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, right at that moment too, the Tonkin incident occurred, where the US imperialists exposed their true nature ! The Moscow Treaty has proved not to have the slightest moral obligation in checking the US from carrying out their aggression. At any moment and just when they feel like it, when it suits their whims, the US imperialists can unleash war ! Such are the "peaceful scope" and "safeguards" of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty.

No ! To the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, the question is crystal clear ! We do not harbour any illusions whatsoever about the U.S. imperialists with either their Johnsons or their Goldwaters. We, similarly, cherish no illusions about the "assistance" from the side of the hypocrite revolutionaries. The AAJA is firmly standing on the side of the Peoples of Vietnam, the Congo and all the Peoples that are engaged in fierce struggles in Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, North Kalimantan, Japan, Angola,Mozambique, South Africa, Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, the Peoples of the Arab countries and Latin America. Our task as progressive journalists of Afro-Asia is to make as clear as possible the true state of affairs to our respective Peoples. To explain that our force foremostly lies most of all in the might of, the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America themselves, in the militant solidarity of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that our main target is still US imperialism which is at the head of international imperialism. Only by correctly understanding this, will we be able to fulfil our historic task in an effective way to liberate our Peoples, to wipe imperialism from the surface of the earth and to build the world anew. We will certainly triumph, for history is on our side ! As President Sukarno stated in his official speech on the occasion of Indonesia Independence Day when he alluded to the US aggression everywhere in the world :

"Indeed, they have 1001 kinds of tricks those imperialists. In Brasil they overthrew the Goulart government, Cuba is continuously being attacked, in the Congo they installed Tshombe, in Southeast Asia they want to throw in a quarter million foreign troops. But all this is not the main stream of history ! All this is a counter-current of history, which consequently is of temporary nature, and which cannot check the advancing force of the main stream. It will certainly get adrift, it will definitely be drowned ! Certainly ! as certain as the sun is to rise again tomorrow !". Such is the inevitable course of history.

SOUTH EAST ASIA

FOCAL POINT

OF WORLD CONTRADICTIONS

President Sukarno

Excerpts of 19th Anniversary Independence speech, 17th Aug. 1964.

Lessons from past experiences and the direction for what lies ahead, these two matters are of the utmost importance in a Revolution which is still taking place ..... Revolution which at bottom is a course, a process, a moving. Yes ! History marches on. The Indonesian Revolution too marches on. The Indonesian Revolution is not going to come to a stop. Imperialism will be shattered to pieces, the dogs and wolves will be silent, but the Indonesian Revolution is going to march on, and will be victorious !

Revolution calls for three absolute conditions : romanticism, dynamism, and dialecticalism. Romanticism, dynamism and dialecticalism which have their home not only in the hearts of the leaders, but in all the hearts of the People. Without a romanticism that electrifies the whole of the People, the Revolution will have no stamina. Without a dynamism that is as though it bewitches the whole of the People, the Revolution will get stuck half way along the road. Without a dialecticalism that knits onto the aspirations of the whole of the People, the People will not be at one with the rising demands of the Revolution, and the Revolution will slowly vanish in a desert of apathy, as a river is sometimes lost, sunk in a desert before it reaches the waters of the ocean.

A revolution that is without romanticism, dynamism, mass dialecticalism, a revolution that is only activated by the impulse of individuals, the private ambition of persons, or the sense of hurt personal feelings as the dynamism of strength — such a revolution only constitutes a mere "palace revolution" alone — a palace revolution which comes to the surface now and tomorrow has vanished again. It is revolutions such as that which are often used as mounts to be ridden by the imperialists ! It is such revolutions as that which are often manufactured by the imperialists, by making a coup, murdering the leaders and other things of the kind. The People of Indonesia have repeatedly crushed those attempts of the imperialists !

Many of our leaders did not understand the meaning of Modern Revolution in the second half of the twentieth century, that is, the age of modern imperialism and monopoly capitalism. They assumed that revolution was only : seizing independence, organising a National Government, replacing the foreign civil servants with civil servants of their own nation, and after that : organising every single thing in keeping with the Western examples given in their textbooks. Such leaders as that even pushed it down our throats that "the revolution is already ended", and that "colonialism-imperialism are already dead"!

Still there are people who accuse Sukarno of "taking sides", who accuse Sukarno of "favouritism". Sukarno taking sides ? Taking sides with whom ? If it is against imperialism, feudalism and the enemies of the Revolution in general, yes ! certainly Sukarno is taking sides, certainly Sukarno has favourites, that is he sides with the People and he sides with Revolution itself. Because I cannot possibly favour imperialism and feudalism, I cannot possibly follow the lackeys of imperialism and feudalism, and therefore I have favourites, and my favour is for the People.

I have been accused of bringing advantages to one group only among our big national family ? My answer here is also, yes. Yes, I am giving advantage to one group only, namely — the revolutionary group ! I am a friend of the nationalist, the revolutionary nationalists ! I am a friend of the religious group, the revolutionary religious group ! I am a friend of the Communists, because the Communists are revolutionary people.

In the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has a motto : "Let a hundred flowers bloom together". Here I have a motto : Let the melati, mawar, kenanga, and tjempaka and all flowers bloom together in the flower-garden of Indonesia ! I said, all flowers — not elephants grass, not weeds, not parasitic plants, not water-weed. There was a polemic about culture. On culture, my stand-point is clear : Wipe out the foreign culture that is crazy ! Return to our own culture.

Now, how is it with our confrontation of "Malaysia" ? We cannot talk about "Malaysia" without talking about the situation in South-East Asia and the whole of Asia in general. We cannot, I said, because South-East Asia has now in fact become the focal point of world contradictions. Above all contradictions between the newly-independent nations,

the colonised and semi-colonised nations with imperialism, — it is here in South-East Asia that these contradictions are sharpest. Moreover, these contradictions, the settlement of which means outing the life-line of world imperialism, these contradictions are the most critical, the most decisive, in our present world.

At my side, at this present moment, with us witnessing the anniversary of the August Revolution are my friends. The Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and Representative of the Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Kim Il Sung. Let the imperialists look at the three of us : one who is a Prince, one who is a Marxist-Leninists, and the other one is NASAKOM compressed, but all three of them are patriots, all three of them fight imperialism ! It is true, my standpoint has always been that whoever, whoever opposes imperialism is objectively a revolutionary. Today I am announcing to the whole world that no evil spirit, no jin, no devil can prevent Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Indonesia from becoming friends and uniting in the march towards a New World without exploitation de l'homme par l'homme !

Korea, Viet Nam and Indonesia all freed themselves from imperialists in August 1945. Afterwards, the three of us all also went through colonial aggression by the imperialists, — Holland in Indonesia, France in Viet Nam, America in Korea. And we strongly condemn America's aggression against North Vietnam at this very moment. And I also pray for the speedy re-unification in freedom of Korea.

In Cambodia I saw with my own eyes how a big imperialist country tried to intimidate the Government of small Cambodia, and made every effort to subdue Cambodia. But truly this Prince of ours is a Great Patriot Prince ; He too, like ourselves, accepts the imperialists' challenge saying "Here I am, where are you ?" He too, like ourselves, accepts the imperialists' challenge saying "Go to hell with your aid' !"

In Laos the imperialists are trampling upon the Geneva Agreement just as they like. I say : Only if the imperialists stop interfering there, only if they withdraw all their troops from that area, only if they honour the Geneva Agreement, only then can a Government be established in Laos that is really neutral, united and democratic.

In South Viet Nam, the guerrilla-farmers mainly those in the Mekong Delta, who "arm themselves with the most modern American weapons and are trained, at least indirectly, by American instructors," can be classified as "the most experienced guerrilla fighters in the world".

Now America even attacks North Viet Nam ! It goes without saying that the Viet Namese people will make opposition until death just as earlier they opposed the hilt attacks from French imperialism. We do not hide the fact that our sympathy lies on their side. "Asian problems to be solved by Asians themselves !" It is best that all foreign troops in Asia should get out of Asia, returning to their respective countries !

Whether or not a country is free, can be seen from the quality of those in power. Had we a while ago gone to the Congo and seen Patrice Lumumba in power there, who is not only a "comprador" but is a great patriot, then that would have been an indication of a free Congo. But if today we go there and it is evident that Tsombe is in power then what madman will be ready to believe that country to be free ?

Finally, I have to address a few words also to the Government of the United States. On the part of Indonesia, the desire to be friends with the United States is already very clear. But the question of R.I. — U.S.A. relations does not depend solely on the Republic of Indonesia, the question also, and mainly, depends on the Government of the United States of America. Has the U.S.A. Government thought twice before putting its signature to the Johnson-Tunku Joint Communique which is full of hostile words against the Republic of Indonesia ? With a heavy heart I have to state that the Johnson-Tunku Joint Statement is really too much.

The Meeting of Ministers in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference, as an expansion of the Bandung Conference, has well defined the necessity for every Asian-African country to stand on its own feet economically, to be independent politically, to have an indentity of its own culturally.

Now Kim Il Sung's Korea has completely solved her problem of food and clothing ; her rice production alone comes to more than 400 kilograms per capita anually, and from a country of industrial agriculture, Kim Il Sung's Korea has today become a country of agrarian industry. Such, then, are the conditions enabling Korea both politically and culturally not to depend on anybody at all.

Indonesia does not want to stay behind ! Indonesia wants to stand in the forefront in realising those principles of the Meeting of Ministers in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference !

As for the British financed enterprises which were taken over by the workers and are now coming under Government control, I'd better re-affirm that fundamentally and eventually no imperialists' capital will be allowed to operate on Indonesia soil. Imperialists' capital which is still operating here, must fully submit to Indonesia national laws.

I am very happy to notice that the unity of African countries is getting more developed, and I welcome the decision of their Summit Conference recently which, in accordance with the mandate given by the Meeting of Ministers in preparation for the Second Asian-African Conference, has fixed Algiers as the seat of the Second African-Asian Conference next year.

Yes, the tree of the Bandung Spirit is getting deeper and deeper rooted into the soil ! Its foliage is getting thicker and thicker ! Its flowers are blossoming forth more and more radiantly ! Its fruit has increased and is getting more and more tasty ! African-Asian solidarity has become stronger, and this forms the coral-reef upon which there runs aground every reactionary and contra-revolutionary attempt of neo-colonialism, colonialism and imperialism.

Not only is Asian-African solidarity ever growing in strength, but also the solidarity of the NEFO, the solidarity of the New Emerging Forces.

Indeed, the tricks of the imperialists are varied : in Brazil they overthrew the Goulart government ; against Cuba they are launching incessant attacks ;

(Continued on page 20)

Afro - Asian Journalists Responsibilities

—— in S. E. Asia

by Huynh Van Tien

For months, the imperialists led by the U.S. imperialists have been and are still engaged in foolhardy and hasardous activities aimed at warding off the overwhelming progress of the national liberation movement of the Southeast Asian peoples.

In Indo-China, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys continue to extend the aggressive war in South Vietnam. They have sent to this region more than 30.000 military men, officers and civilians from the United States, including combat units, hundreds of aeroplanes of all kinds, thousands of tons of arms and other means of war, among which are toxicological products, napalm bombs and phosphorescent bullets. They increased their aggressive war budget for South Vietnam and are looking for ways to involve their allies and stooges from the NATO and SEATO pacts in their aggressive war in South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are still continuously violating the borders of Cambodia, have pressed the reactionary forces in Thailand to sabotage the Geneva Agreements on Laos and the tripartite government of the National Union of Laos, and recently they have openly extended their aggressive war to Laos, sent the US seventh fleet into the Indonesian Ocean threatening the security of the Indonesian Republic and on August 5, they openly attacked the Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam, conjuring up the myth of the "Tonkin Gulf".

It is clear as the light of day that, with the consent of the British, Australian and New Zealand imperialists, the U.S. imperialists are in the act of sabotaging the Genewa Agreements of 1954 on Indo-China and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. They are exerting efforts to consolidate the colonial regime of a new kind, that of Malaysia, they are looking for any means whatsoever to suppress the national liberation movement of the North Kalimantan people and are at the same time exercising political and economic pressures on the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

The adventurous actions of the U.S. imperialists mentioned above, show that the imperialists are not strong but are on the contrary displaying frantic and desperate reactions in face of the daily growing victories of the movement for the national liberation struggle and in face of the deadlock they have got themselves in from the political and military point of view.

The most blatant fact lately is the attack on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on August 5. After 10 years of defeat during their aggressive war against the revolutionary people of South Vietnam, despite the fact that they have poured in milliards of dollars on the South Vietnamese front and brought in well known generals and the most modern means of war, the U.S. imperialists, through acts of piracy — bombing certain number of bases in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, cannot hide before the world opinion, in particular the opinion of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the following truths: the national liberation movement is in the process of defeating the U.S. imperialists, the spearheads of all the imperialists, who are surely going towards their doom in South Vietnam. Neither dollars nor rockets can ever defeat the just cause. The imperialists have

Vietnam workers hold a meeting to denounce U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

got themselves jammed in a tunnel that has no outlet.

The U.S. imperialists are bragging about their policy of protecting peace, and in the meanwhile, day after day in South Vietnam, in Laos, aeroplanes, arms, toxical products "made in USA", have been spreading death and destruction among the population of these countries.

While the U.S. imperialist were boasting about their policy of protecting the freedom in Southeast Asia, they were fencing in millions of people in their "strategic hamlets" in South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists have crowed over their respect of the Geneva Agreements while at the same time they were murdering those who were demanding the implementation of these agreements in South Vietnam.

The results of the so-called "Tonkin Gulf" incident, however, have turned out to be quite contradictory to what they had wished them to be. The whole of the Vietnamese people have displayed even deeper hatred towards the U.S. imperialists and are still more firmly determined to fight them. The Southeast Asian people and the people in the whole world have intensified their hatred towards the U.S. imperialists and have unanimously condemned them. In spite of their efforts to demonstrate, by all possible means, their "power", they have been quite deservingly punished and will be miserably isolated, more than ever before.

Eye to eye with such a situation, the duty of the Afro-Asian journalists, already heavily charged, will become much more so. We must raise our vigilance still more to be able to, in time, denounce and condemn right from the beginning, all actions of intervention and aggression, of imperialist sabotage of the national liberation movement, aimed at mobilizing the progressive forces in order to smash the imperialist manoeuvres, thus keeping them back from creating enormous ravages,

We also have to strengthen the ranks of Afro-Asian journalists, reinforce our unity in political and ideological issue, sharpen our pens to assure a secure and strong front of communication and information, in service of the immense work of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

President Ho Chi Minh congratulates the victorious anti-aircraft and naval units at the ceremony.

Chairman Truong Chinh awards prizes to the victorious units of the Vietnam People's Army.

We, the Vietnamese journalists together with all journalists of the new emerging forces. will always hold firm to the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist front of the peoples of Africa and Asia, in their struggle for national independence, democracy, human progress and for the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and in the whole world. The Vietnamese journalists fully support the Afro-Asian Journalist Association and the Djakarta Declaration and are urging our ranks to unite within the AAJA in our aim to conduct the common struggle more courageously and determinedly against our common enemy, imperialism and colonialism, headed by United States!

Soepeno

The history of the Indonesian press is a long one, and has gone through various periods and stages in its development.

In order to more easily understand the press in Indonesia, we will devide its history into several periods, to be exact in three periods :

Firstly : The period before the national awakening, that is the period before 1908.
Secondly : The period of the National Movement (1908 - 1945).
Thirdly : The period of Independence.

The period before the National Awakening :

It was in the year 1615 that Indonesia first started to know a newspaper. This newspaper was called *"Memorie der Nouvelles"* (Memory of the News) that was published at the proposal, of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, Governor General of the Dutch at that time. This newspaper was written by hand and actually preceded the first newspaper in Holland that only appeared in 1619.

A printed newspaper did not appear earlier than in 1744, the *"Bataviase Nouvelles"* (The News of Batavia). This newspaper was published every Monday on a folio format, printed on both sides (2 pages). It was almost entirely filled with advertisements especially those to announce public sales. The news it held was news from Holland (if there was any) and from "The Netherlands Indies" itself. Its dissemination got as far as the town of Ambon, and it lasted only two years. The authorities in Holland feared its influence.

After the "Bataviase Nouvelles" ceased to appear, a vacuum of 64 years long followed. And it was only in 1810 that another newspaper showed its face, the *"Bataviase Koloniale Courant"* (The Batavian Colonial Newspaper). It was born at the urging of Governor General Daendels. This paper consisted of 4 pages and was printed on a big quarto format.

This newspaper too, did not live very long. A year after its first publication (1811), the English troops landed in Indonesia and the Dutch government surrendered its authority to Sir Thomas Stanford Raffles. The *"Bataviase Nouvelles"* also got burried, and in 1812 there appeared the *"Java Gazette"*, that also did not reach old age. With the restoration of the Dutch power (1816), the *"Java Gazette"* ended its publication, and the *"Bataviasche Courant"* (Batavia Newspaper) started its appearance. This paper later under the new name of *"De Javasche Courant"* (The Java Newspaper), lived until the arrival of the Japanese Occupational Forces in Indonesia in the year 1942.

From the above it has come out clearly the Indonesian newspapers at the moment of appearance were published and financed by those who were in power at that time, that is the Dutch colonial Government. The aim of those newspapers was none but to strengthen the position and serve the interests of the Dutch.

The sixth newspaper to appear in Indonesia at that period was a real one, which means that it was not published by the government but on private enterprise and therefore was financed by private capital. This was the *"Surabaja's Advertentie Blad"* (Surabaya Advertisement Paper). The same sort of newspaper was also published, by Dutch capital, in Solo (Central Java) in the regional language, as among others the *"Bromartani"* in the year 1855. It was published by Harteveld & Co. In Surabaya (East Java) in 1856 the *"Soerat Kabar Melayoe"* (The Malay newspaper) was published and in Djakarta the *"Soerat Chabar Betawie"* (1858).

In short, the newspapers appearing during this period could be devided into two groups :

a. Newspapers published by government capital for the "non-Indonesian group".

b. Newspapers published by private foreign capital (Dutch), for the upper stratum of the Indonesian people.

The National Movement Period (1908 — 1945) :

This period too, can be divided into three smaller ones, namely :

1. Newspapers published by the National Indonesian bourgeoisie that began to develop itself.

2. Newspapers published by the proletariat.

3. Newspapers published by the Japanese fascists.

1. Newspapers published by the National Bourgeosie

It is quite natural that the first national newspaper that was published in Indonesia should be issued by the national bourgeosie. The national bourgeosie at the beginning of the 20th century were at the head of their people who were awakening from the darkness of age-long oppression by the Dutch. Their weapon in the struggle *"Budi Utomo"* which in the year 1908, was a weapon in the hands of the intelectuals by and by become an organisation of a national character.

From around the developing *"Budi Utomo"* (Lofty Nature), emerged the first national newspaper in Indonesia the *"Medan Prijaji"* (the Field of the Priai — the priai were the upper middle class officials) and it was Bandung (West Java) who enjoyed the honour of possessing this first national paper, because it saw the light in this town. The publisher and editor in chief was no one less than Raden Mas Tirtoadisurjo, the son of a native regent, a genuine child of its era. When still in school he already showed his revolutionary spirit. He was a politican, founder of the Bogor branch of the Sarekat Dagang Islam (Moslem Trade Organisation), which was on of the branches that were pioneers to the Sarekat Islam (Moslem Organisation) which later on was to play an important role in the development of the national movement.

In the able hands of Tirtoadisurjo, *"Medan Prijaji"* we may say, was "ahead' of its time, it stood out as a beacon throughout the whole period. It closed an old period of history and formed the beginning in the real sense of the word, of a new and, excellent one. For *"Medan Prijaji"* already was considering the question of the make-up. Its news items were much better organised than all its predecessors. The "Medan Prijaji" was a real weapon that displayed its capableness. It was the first newspaper that published letters of the readers, and of the public in general. An illiterate who wanted to pour out his heart's contents could ask help of the editors of this paper. And up till this very moment, the Indonesian newspapers are still continuing this tradition started by *"Medan Prijaji"*. Because

of his pungent articles, R.M. Tirtoadisurjo at one time got banned to the island of Batjan. (the Moluccas).

It would certainly not be exaggerating to say that R.M. Tirtoadisurjo should be called the Father of the Indonesian press.

Almost side by side with *"Medan Prijaji"* in Bandung, in Medan (1909) the paper *"Pewarta Deli"* (Deli News) was published led by Adinegoro (now working in "Antara" news agency), which paper also helped in forming the well known communist journalist, Jahja Jacub.

Also very well known and of considerable influence in this period was *"Utusan Hindia"* (The Indies Envoy) under the leadership of a great Indonesian leader at that time, Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto. H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto was the first leader that made a great impression on President Sukarno, and it was he, too, who gave Bung Karno his first political education. Among his assistants were, Alimin Prawirodirdjo and Surjopranoto, whom the latter was known as the "King of Strikes". Apart from its very extensive influence, *"Utusan Hindia"* always provided important information to its readers. If anyone cares to study the revolt to Tjimareme in the year 1919 that was led by Haji Hasan or the uprising in Toli-toli in the same year, *"Utusan Hindia"* would be the paper to peruse — for it was the only paper that reported on these events in the most complete way.

Because of their militancy, the editors of "Utusan Hindia" went in and out of the colonial prisons. For thirteen years the paper devoted itself to the Indonesian national movement.

The Indonesian newspaper kept heading towards progress in pace with the growing national movement. With the birth of the Indische Partij (the Indian Party) led by Douwes Dekker (Dr. Setiabudi), Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo (all three later on banned) in 1912, *"Het Tijdschrift"* (the Magazine) and *"De Beweging"* (the Movement) appeared printed in the Dutch language. Besides those, the *"Indische Partij"* also published a magazine in the Indonesian language called *"Persatuan Hindia"* (the Indies Unity).

In the meanwhile it is enssential to note the publication of the paper *"Darmokondo"*, in this period, in Solo. (Central Java).

It was published by Tan Tjoe Kwan, while the editorial board was led by Tjie Sian-ling. Both of them were noted specialists in Javanese literature. At first this paper appeared twice a week but later on in 1926 it became a daily newspaper. Three times a week it appeared in the Indonesian language and three times a week in Javanese.

2. Newspapers published by the Indonesian proletariat

In 1920, three years after the outburst of the October Revolution in Russia, the party of the Indonesian working class was born, the PKI (CPI — Communist Party of Indonesia).

The birth of the Indonesian CP, was preceded by a period in which progressive newspapers and magazines sprouted up like mushrooms in the rainy season. In West Java, were published *"Obor"* (Torch), *"Masa Baru"* (New Era), *"Titir"* (alarm signal) and others. The weekly *"Titir"* was a continuation of the magazine *"Surapati"* (the name of an Indonesian freedom fighter), and led by Sardjono, the chairman of the CPI, who was murdered and burried in Ngalihan (Solo) in the year 1948. Then, there was also *"Panglima"* (Commander), *"Suara Merdeka"* (Voice of Freedom), and *"Padjadjaran"*. The weekly *"Padjadjaran"* was edited by A. Winanta, a prominent figure of the CPI and Mrs Martawidjaja Parmasih, the first Indonesian woman journalist.

In Central Java, in 1915, the weekly *"Guntur"* (Thunder) saw the light and was published in Semarang. It was later on joined to the magazine *"Bergerak"* (Move) under the direction of Mas Marco, a prominent communist-journalist, and became *"Guntur Bergerak"* (Thunder moves), published in two languages, Indonesian and Dutch. Meanwhile, the printing office *"Sinar Djawa"* (Light of Java) Solo was publishing *"Sinar Djawa"* (Light of Java) which in 1919 was changed into *"Sinar Hindia"* (Light of the Indies). The leading board consisted of Mas Marco and Semaun. In the year 1923, "Sinar Hindia" became *"Api"* (Fire). This paper then was declared the official organ of the Indonesian Communist Party. In 1926 *"Mowo"* was published, a magazine in the Javanese language, and in Javanese characters.

In the second part of this period, two very important events happened that should be recorded. First : the appearance of progressive novels besides progressive magazines and newspapers. Mohamad Sanusi published his *"Siti Rajati"* and *"Gan Sarifatimah"*, while Slamet Gunawan became well known with his work *"Saja dengan setan"* (The devil and I). This novel caused the closing down of the printing office *"De Zon"* by the Dutch Netherlands-Indies' government. The writer himself was exiled to Digul (West Irian) and died by the river Digul, while carrying out forced labour.

Mas Marco had a very productive pen, one of his best known works is *"Student hidjau"* (the green student). Second : The Indonesian journalists began to organize themselves. At the first congress held by the Indonesian journalists, in the month of March, 1919, in Solo, no less than 400 delegates were present. Mas Marco, at the congress delivered, a key-note speech entitled *"The Black Press against the White Press"*, which met with fervent approval. The congress succeeded in establishing the first organisation of Indonesian journalists, the *"Indiers Journalisten Bond"*. The leaders were Mas Marco, Semaun, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, H. Misbach, Sosrokardono and H. Agus Salim.

Up to the eve ot fhe armed national revolt of 1926, the Indonesian press in a high spirit was the spokesman of the national movement that had set out to attack Dutch colonialism vehemently. The failure of the said revolt was used by the Duch to hit back. And for a while the national movement went through a period of set backs. It was a very happy moment when not long after this, Ir. Sukarno stepped into the arena of the struggle, by establishing the Indonesian National Party (PNI). In the year 1931, he published two magazines *"Fikiran Rakjat"* (the opinion of the people), a weekly, and *"Suluh Indonesia Muda"* (the torch of young Indonesia), a monthly. Thanks to the leadership of Ir. Sukarno the national movement gradually went towards high tide.

3. Newspapers published by the Japanese fascists

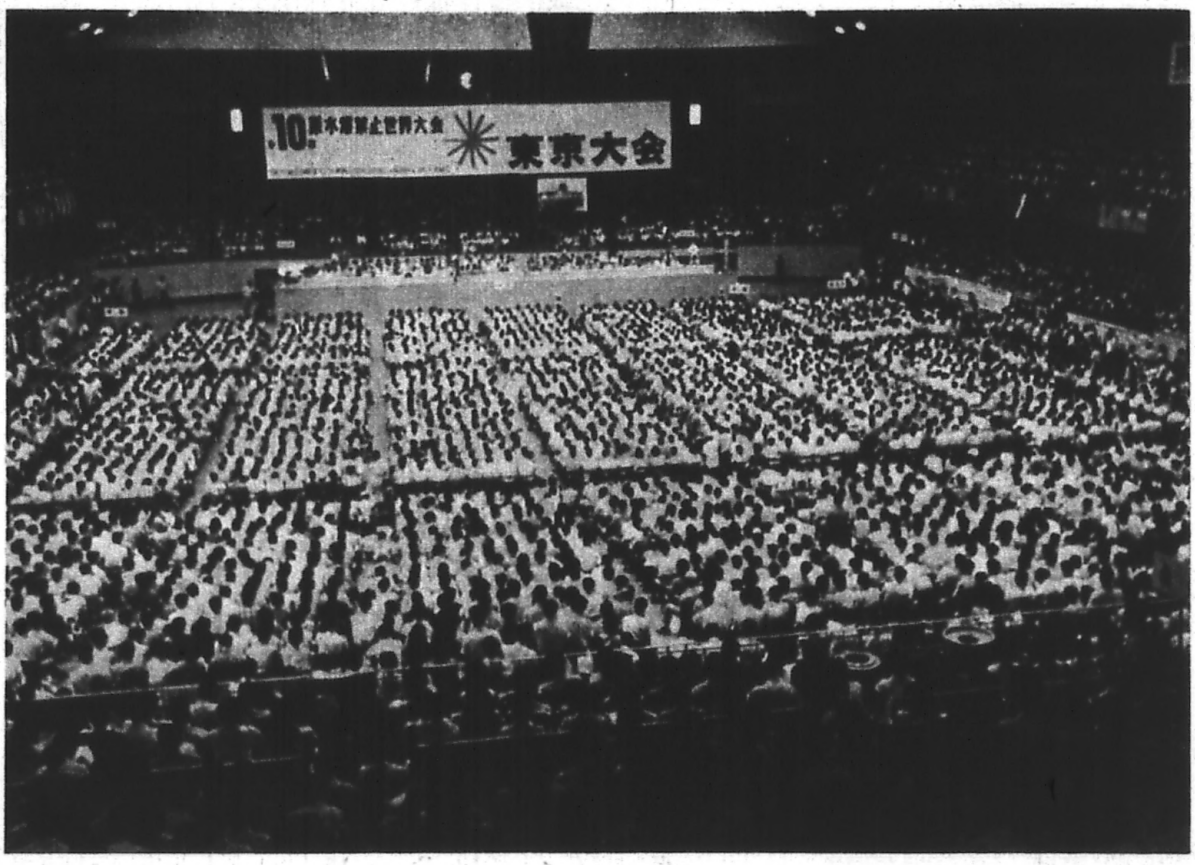
The press appearing during the Japanese occupation, was mainly consisting of those people who were prepared to collaborate with the Japanese. The Japanese fascists did not give the slightest possibility to publications that opposed or critisized their reign in Indonesia. The press was fully controlled by the Sendenbu (propaganda section) department of Japan, while in the editorial board there sure to be Japanese of the Sendenbu or of the Kempetai (their FBI). The newspapers that appeared had to serve a definite purpose, namely to propagate *"ASIA TIMUR RAYA"* (Greater East Asia).

With a more and more atrocious Japanese domination, a shift was perceptible among the newspapers. In principle the regional papers closed down, while the papers in Djakarta met more and more demands in the regions. The readers naturally were more interested in the problems of Djakarta, the more after the establishment of the organisation *"PUTERA"* which is short for PUSAT TENAGA RAKJAT (Central People's Power) under the direct leadership of Bung Karno.

As I explained the regional newspapers gradually ceased to appear. An illegal newspaper, from Surabaya, however, *"Merah Putih"* (Red and White) was circulated as the voice of the Anti-Japanese people of the left group in this city. The publication of *"Merah Putih"* and *"Menara Merah"* (Red Beacaon), has pushed the revolts in Tjirebon — West Java — and also in Blitar and other towns, for, one of the targets of the readers were the soldiers of the *"PETA"* (short for Pembela Tanah Air — Defenders of Fatherland) which was conducted by former members of the organisations, who had been found ready to co-operate with the army and the Japanese power.

We should point out, that because the news agencies were fully controlled by Japan, the newspapers that appeared no longer reflected general opinion, on the contrary, they represented the policy and information of Japan. For example, the news items about "Japanese defeats" were always

Continued on page 23



The 10th World Conference against A and H Bombs which was held in Japan July 30 — Aug. 9 became an event of big significance in mid 1964 world politics.

It has made clear that although Japanese government, the US imperialists, national and international revisionist forces did their utmost to split, hinder, undermine and suppress Japanese people's National Movement with major aims 1) to hinder the nuclear war, 2) to completely prohibit the nuclear arms, the Japanese people in strong solidarity with peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and world over dealt smashing blows to these intrigues. The World Conference became an unprecedented demonstration of solidarity of world forces against US imperialism which was threatening, even during the session, the peace and independence in South-East Asia and the World at large with its aggressive policies and nuclear arms.

The strength and determination of forces for peace, unity and against US imperialism were displayed most clearly through big struggles against international revisionists which were fought at the outset of the World Conference. The World Conference became the first of the recent international conferences at which every manouevres and plots of revisionists were crushed by the united forces uncompromisingly to that revisionists found themselves utterly isolated and they had no other way but to walk out of the Conference to join the splittist meeting, thus exposing their true nature. Here we present to our readers a reportage by Mr. H. Ishihara who took part to the World Conference as one of the delegates from Japan Congress of Journalists.

The meetings and sessions of the 10th World Conference were held as follows (with numbers of attendants) :

July 30 — Aug. 2 : International Conference and Tokyo Convention. 20.000 Japanese ; 200 Foreign (59 countries, & international organizations).

Aug. 3 — Aug. 5 : General Session (Kyoto and Osaka) 39,500 ; 163 (52,7)

Aug. 7 : Hiroshima meeting 10,000 ; 117 (45,4)

Aug. 9 : Nagasaki meeting 20,000 ; 106 (41,3)

A FIGHTING SOLIDARITY OF PEACE FORCES AGAINST US NUCLEAR AGGRESSIVE POLICIES

REPORT FROM THE 10th WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST A & H BOMBS

The general session of the Tenth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs got under way on the evening of August 3 with an opening general meeting held in the beautiful ancient Japanese capital of Kyoto. Attending the session were some 35,000 Japanese, representing nearly 1,070,000 people who took part in various ban-the-bomb meetings across the country, as well as 163 foreigners from 52 countries and eight international organizations.

Earlier in the day, the delegates to the conference gathered at five places in the city and launched a march toward the Kyoto Prefectural University Stadium, which was the site for the general meeting. The grand march for peace was enthusiastically welcomed by the Kyotoites. They lined the streets and applauded the marchers converging on the stadium.

Since the ninth antinuclear world conference last year, certain elements of the General Council of Japan Trade Unions (Sohyo) and the Socialist Party have splitted away from the movement for a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs and tried by hook or crook to effect a schism within the movement.

Those who have worked for peace by carrying the banner of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) ever higher at their workshops or places of their residence, were often labelled as "Communists" or "pro-Peking". But they never gave in to these slanders or obstructions. On the contrary, they appealed to the more broader sections of people to give them support and abided by the resolutions passed by the ninth conference. And now, they were going to hold the tenth world conference against nuclear weapons.

An A-bomb victim in Nagasaki, Miss Chieko Watanabe, who had been confined to bed since the fourth antinuclear convention, attended the general meeting together with her mother. Half paralyzed, she stood before the audience, assisted by her mother, and states :

"I cannot tolerate the fact that the state, which disfigured me this way 19 years ago by dropping an atomic bomb, is now causing the danger of a nuclear war principally in Asia and thus plotting to create more A-bomb victim like me.

"Let us strive to prevent recurrence of a nuclear disaster forced upon us, not to turn Japan, a nuclear victim, into a nuclear assailant, and to protect and carry ever higher the banner of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs by uniting all forces that can be united".

Miss Watanabe, with her voice clear and serene, gave a deep impression on the minds of the capacity crowd, who, steeled in their struggle, resolved ever firmer to continue their fight.

On August 1, or two days before the opening general meeting, four American fighter-bombers bombed North Vietnamese territories in broad daylight. On August 2, under the pretext that one of its destroyers were attacked, the U.S. 7th Fleet launched a large-scale action in waters close to Vietnam. American military planes took off from bases in Japanese territories including Okinawa to Indo-China to take part in the action. The Japanese Government, led by Prime Minister

by

Hideo Ishihara

(Japan Congress of Journalists)

Hayato Ikeda, complied with a U.S. request to send a medical team — the first in a planned series — to South Vietnam from the University of Nagasaki, that Atom Bomb victim community. It is evident that the six-man medical group will assist the U.S.-Nguyen Khanh clique who have been suffering one defeat after another.

Under such circumstances, the general meeting, in compliance with an emergency proposal by its steering committee, passed a resolution to launch an international united action to oppose U.S. armed attacks on North Vietnam. It also dispatched a cable to U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson to protest against the act of aggression and also cable of encouragement to the North Vietnamese Government and the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation.

While this huge mass meeting of international solidarity was going on, splittists joined by the Soviet delegates held a meeting of their own — literally dubbed as "a peace rally for enjoying the evening cool" — at Arashiyama in Kyoto.

The splittist sponsors expected 30,000 persons to take part in the rally, but only 2,000 turned up ; besides, beer was sold at a reduced price to participants while the rally was in session, and so, naturally enough, some of them attended the session in tipsy conditions. Not a word was spoken there about the situation in Vietnam.

On August 4, the second day session of the world antinuclear parley was held at 131 scattered places in the city, with each of 35,000 delegates taking part in one of them. There, discussions were held on the reports adopted at the international meeting of the-the-bomb parley held in Tokyo before the Kyoto meeting, as well as the general report delivered at the first-day session on the previous day. Experiences in the antinuclear movement were also exhanged at the gatherings.

Some of the characteristic features of remarks made at the panel discussions may be summarized as follows :

(1) All delegates, by citing concrete facts, exposed the U.S. plot to turn Japan into a base for nuclear attacks, the move for revival of Japanese militarism, and the role of Japan as a base for U.S. military aggression in Vietnam and other parts of Indo-China. They also emphasized the need to halt the attempt to change Japan into a nuclear base.

(2) Reports were made on the fruitful, various results of the 1,000,000-man meetings organized across the country by the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensukyo). Some delegates reported that they succeeded in organizing antinuclear meetings through the exchange of letters — a plan worked out by them in order to avert intervention by right-wing union leaders who are connected with the spittist clique. They also proudly reported that the 1,000,000-man meeting could rally new, broader sections of people compared with the previous antinuclear parleys.

(3) The delegates stressed that splittist clique who organized divisive ban-the-bomb gathering under the name of Sankenren (Association of Three A-Bomb Victim Prefectures), paid lip service to peace but that actually they did nothing in practice. Their sole purpose was to denounce the antinuclear movement as having dissociated. To cope with this splittist manouevre, the delegates emphasized, 1,000,000-man rallies

were pushed ahead, signature-collecting and fund-raising campaigns promoted, and the unity of all peace-loving persons enhanced. (4) Due attention has to be paid to closer unity of A-bomb victims and the relief movement for them. (5) The peace movement must organize broader sections of farmers. This is all the more important because a serious situation has arisen in the farmers' living and farming as a result of war policies pushed by U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces.

Emphasis was also placed on the need to stand up against U.S. armed aggression in South Vietnam: whenever Vietnamese delegates joined in the panel discussions, they were welcomed with an enthusiastic applause — a pledge of solidarity with the fighting Vietnamese people.

The closing general meeting was held on the evening of August 5 in Osaka, drawing a curtain on the ban-the-bomb world parley. Vietnamese and Japanese delegates hugged each other on the rostrum, so did French and Vietnamese delegates. Delegates from across the world cried out, with their fists tossing up: U.S. imperialism, get out of Vietnam; get out of Asia, Africa and Latin America" and "Stop armed aggression against Vietnam; stop the policy of nuclear war".

The delegates renewed their pledge to confront, by a concerted action, U.S. imperialism, the arch-enemy of the peoples who is plotting unclear warfare and aggression and colonial rule.

The tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs adopted seven appeals and resolutions, calling on the peace forces across the world to launch a united action in order to halt military aggression in Indo-China and thwart the danger of nuclear war, thus starting on a grand march for a total ban on nuclear weapons.

The commercial newspapers in Japan levelled slanderous attacks at the world ban-the-bomb parley. They were unanimous in reporting that the parley was "confused because of the Sino-Soviet antagonism". They ignored all the lively activities of the people for peace, and clamoured that the antinuclear meeting, "nowstage-managed and dominated by the Communists", should be turned back to the people.

Overseas delegates enter meeting place of the closing session of the general meeting held in Osaka on evening of August 5.

The Soviet delegation and a part of other foreign delegations — followers of theirs — attempted to participate in the tenth World Conference as well as the splittist-sponsored gathering aimed at wrecking the tenth world parley. At the international meeting (July 30 — Aug. 2) held prior to the general meeting, they resorted to every obstructionist activities. Their action, however, met with strong criticism, from various delegations. They had no alternative but to walk out of the conference when they realized they were isolated.

On the evening of August 2, about 20,000 peace fighters gathered at the Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium for a "Tokyo Convention" which was held in disregard of race or beliefs under the slogans of "Nip the sheme of a nuclear war in the bud" and "The world people are united, the world antinuclear parley is united".

Georgi A. Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet delegation, turned a deaf ear to these sincere calls. He told a press conference that:

"The present parley is no longer an international meeting but a

Hailing the victory of the 10th World Conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Peking opera. It is a puppet show stage-managed by Peking.

„Tokyo has turnd into Peking. The genuine tenth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs will be convened next year".

But this remark was a fraud, devoid of any truth in it. It was far from what the 35,000 participants in the world parley felt about the meetings, which had been won after surmounting numerous bitter splittist activities and obstructions.

U.S. imperialism and Japanese ruling circles dependent on it were panic-stricken when the Japanese people, waging a struggle against the traitorous Japan-U.S. security treaty, prevented the then U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower from visiting this country and overthrew the Kishi Cabinet in 1960; since then, the U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces have been trying hard to mobilize corrupt union leaders, trotskyite Zengakuren, ultra-rightist, commercial journalism and other forces and elements so as to divert the Japanese people's struggle from its real target, U.S. imperialism and split the popular united front based on the joint action of Socialist and Communist partics.

This year, they attempted to confuse the world parley by convening another "world parley" so as to take the edge off the popular struggle in Asian, African and Latin American countries against colonial powers led by U.S. imperialism.

This villainious attempt has ended and will end in failure. It is because in Japan, too, more and more people came to aware of the fact that their misery is traceable tc antipopular policy adhered to by U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces and that without a fight against them, they cannot win peace.

The participants in the world parley, who had appealed to their fellow workers or residents in their communities for peace and national independence, and exposed U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina, and thus won more supporters for the ban-the-bomb meeting, were all the more conscious of who is the enemy of peace, who is the ally of the enemy of peace and who their true friends.

The participants express their approval of the resolutions with thunderous applause.

They, therefore, welcomed their fellow fighters for peace from abroad with a great applause, including the Vietnamese delegation. They also gave a thundering applause to the Cuban delegate, who, quoting Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, said "The path to war is the path to peace is the path for the whole people to win freedom".

The delegates to the world conference realized ever more keenly that the peace movement can develop only when it is united rightly with the national liberation struggle. Japan is said to be a highly developed capitalist country, and Prime Minister Ikeda once boasted that it is one of the three pillars of the world, the other two pillars being the United States and Europe. But in fact there are more than 200 American bases in Japan; Okinawa, that part of Japanese territories has been turned into a U.S. base for nuclear war. Wages for workers are stagnant at low level, and fierce suppression has been often imposed on the labor movement. Under the reactionary "farming modernization program as advocated by the Liberal-Democratic regime of Prime Minister Ikeda, an increasing number of peasants are losing their land and sinking into misery and poverty.

What is more, U.S. imperialims has forced upon the Japanese people a policy of enmity toward the Chinese people contrary to the early restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. U.S. imperialism is also shifting the financial and other burdens so far borne by itself to Japan in continuing the policy of aggression in Asia.

National liberation is the greatest task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as of the people of Japan.

The tenth world antinuclear parley has thus given a broad perspective to workers, peasants, smaller entrepreneurs and other people to develop their united front in order to struggle for peace and national independence. An unprecedentedly large number of Japanese people came to realize, or deepened their understanding through the world antinuclear conference, that they are pursuing a joint struggle, together with the friends in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Prior to the world convention, arduous activists and their supporters organized inumerable meetings across the country in which more than 1,000,000 people took part. These preparatory meetings, too, contributed to the success of the world parley.

AAJA SECRETARIAT ACTIVITIES

The A.A.J.A. in carrying out its task has participated actively in week-of-solidarity actions in support of the struggle of the peoples of Korea, South Vietnam, Japan and Indonesia. These actions, that were held in July and August of this year, in the main were directed against imperialism, United States' imperialism in the first place.

For the realizarion of the weeks of solidarity, organizing committees were set up with the following names: "COMMITTEEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE KOREAN PEOPLE FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA", "COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAM PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE" and "COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND AGAINST THE A AND H BOMBS". The secretaries of the AAJA Secretariat and their staff, actively took part in those committees, in the persons of Mr. Joesoef, deputy secretary general of the AAJA and Mr. Hb. Azhary.

The committee's leading boards in general were formed by prominent figures from the organisations they represented like: the OISRAA (Indonesian Organisation for Solidarity with the AA peoples), KPAA (AA Writers Conference), FFAA (AA Film Festival), AAJA, PWI (Indonesian Journalist Association) Central Board, the Indonesian Peace Committee, National anti A and H bomb Committee. The National Indonesian Student Organisation, the Indonesian Youth Front, Workers and Peasant organisations and the PERTI (a Moslem Organisation). From the great number of organisations as well as the government representatives and leading people of Political Parties that were present and delivered massages, we can see that those Solidarity Committees got a wide support of the Indonesian progressive society.

The principlal actions carried out by these committees were holding mass meetings in Djakarta which were getting wide and satisfying support from the side of the authorities as well as from political parties and mass organisations, particularly those organised in the National Front. Apart from public meetings held in Djakarta, mass gatherings were also organised in the regions like in Bandung, etc, Besides this film shows on the struggle of the peoples to liberate their countries from the imperialist yoke, like the film "Lessons from history", which depicts the heroic struggle of the valiant Korean people to drive out the US imperialist troops, and the film made of the AAJC which pictures the unity of the AA journalists in their fight against imperialism. At the opening of these shows, Mr. Joesoef, Deputy Secretary General of the AAJA delivered a message.

At the public meetings organised by the Solidarity Committee, messages were delivered by representatives of the government, the Presidium of the Cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia, the NASAKOM political parties, while H.E. President Sukarno and Madame Hartini also sent messages.

At the last of these solidarity meetings in support of the struggle of the Japanese people and against the A and H bomb, Mr. I. Sugiyama, secretary of the AAJA permanent Secretariat also took the floor.

All these mass meetings resulted in the adoption of resolutions that were welcomed and unanimously approved by the audience. The main features of the resolutions were in line with the contents and the spirit of the speeches and addresses delivered in the meetings, which were anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo colonialist. US imperialism in the first place, with ardent vehemence, was completely denounced for its shameless acts of splitting up and the national unity of recent interventions in the countries of Asia e.g. in Laos, Cambodia, and Korea. The aggressive and provocative actions launched by the US imperialists lately in the Gulf of Tonkin were even more severely condemned in the said resolutions.

Summarizing on these successful solidarity actions, we can state that they were a manifestation of the People of Indonesia to emphasize their unreserved support to the struggling Peoples of Korea, South Vietnam and Japan in their fight to liberate their respective peoples and countries from the domination of US imperialism.

Hb. Azhary

Mr. I. Sugiyama, Japanese Secretary to the A.A.J.A., speaking at the mass meeting against A & H bombs in Djakarta

LETTERS FROM ZAMBIA

sent by Moses Makwaya

1) ZAMBIA DISTRESSED AT SOUTH AFRICAN SABOTAGE SENTENCES.

On behalf of Zambia and her citizens, the Prime Minister, Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda wrote to the President of the Republic of South Africa, expressiang his distress and that of his Government at the severity of the (life imprisonment) sentences imposed on Nelson Mandela and his compatriots.

Like all other forward-looking Statesmen of the World, Dr Kaunda condemned the brutality of the Boer Settler Government in South Africa and encourage those South African freedom fighters outside Verwoerd's prisons to carry on the struggle. Prison sentences or no prison sentences, the struggle must be intensified so that the will of the people must make naked the Boers' outdated and helpless imperialist diplomacy in South Africa.

In the name of Unity of African Organisation and the Addis Ababa Charter, the Zambia Government has given a green light to African Freedom Fighters from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, "Portuguese" East and West Africa to operate freely and to open up offices in Lusaka, the capital city and other parts of Zambia.

At a recent public meeting called by Zimbabwe African People's Union, the representative of the South African office in Zambia stated, among other things, that there should be no flexible or liberal approach to South African apartheid problem. No time must be wasted in passing resolutions on South Africa. A violent revolution is the only answer. He added that the South African National Congress must back up its theoretical and practical conclusions by actions — actions that could be felt by the settler government of South Africa and its greedy supporters.

2) POLITICAL PRISONERS FREED.

A little more than six months has passed since Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party formed the first internal self-government of Zambia. The country has since made great strides in various fields of development and one of the fruits of self-rule has been the release of over 800 political prisoners. These are Zambia sons and daughters sent to prison by the British imperialist government during the early days of the struggle.

The prisoners who are still being released from different jails where they had been serving sentences ranging from 5 to 20 years, have gone through various types of physical torture and brutality of the worst nature. Many of them died while serving their sentences and has to be buried by fellow prisoners without the knowledge of relatives, members of their families or friends.

In a personal message to the released prisoners, the Zambia Prime Minister, Dr. Kaunda has left no stone unturned in making it clear that the Government felt that the crimes committed by freedom fighters during the bitter struggle against colonialism were of a political nature and did not warrant keeping of these people in jails forever. There have been excitement, joyous singing and rousing welcome of prisoners in all remote and urban localities of Zambia.

At Broken Hill, crowds caused a traffic jam when people rushed to the centre of the town to give a hero's welcome to Benjamin Chirwa, who served seven of his 35 year sentence for offences including causing a £ 100.000 damages to a goods train which he derailed in 1957.

Some of the release prisoners met the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs, at the prison gates, with a message asking for the release of the rest of the political prisoners.

The message read, in parts : "We cannot entirely forget the days of our imprisonment, and the occasions when so many of us have been subject to personal injustice and hardship because of our political ideals. These unhappy memories have served only to broaden our minds to those who tortured us in order to further imperialist aims".

One elderly Zambia prisoner died at Marandellas H.M. Prison as the result of harsh treatment. He was buried by fellow Zambia and Zimbabwe political prisoners. Political songs were sung followed by grave-side tributes as this Zambia hero was laid to rest in a poorly-made coffin and in a shallow grave.

Freedom fighters who were sent to prisons during the struggle had to commit various types of crimes in an endeavour to weaken the resistance of the settler-governments in Central Africa — settlers who determined to keep the source of their profits in Africa.

In Zambia, like in all African countries previously dominated by the imperialist, the black people died in big numbers — still upholding their right to a free and independent way of life. They were mercilessly killed, interrogated at gun points and turned into colonial slaves in their homeland. Their day to day life was cripped by the fetters of white supremacy and the chains of segregation.

KOREA

CUBA

BRITAIN

PAKISTAN

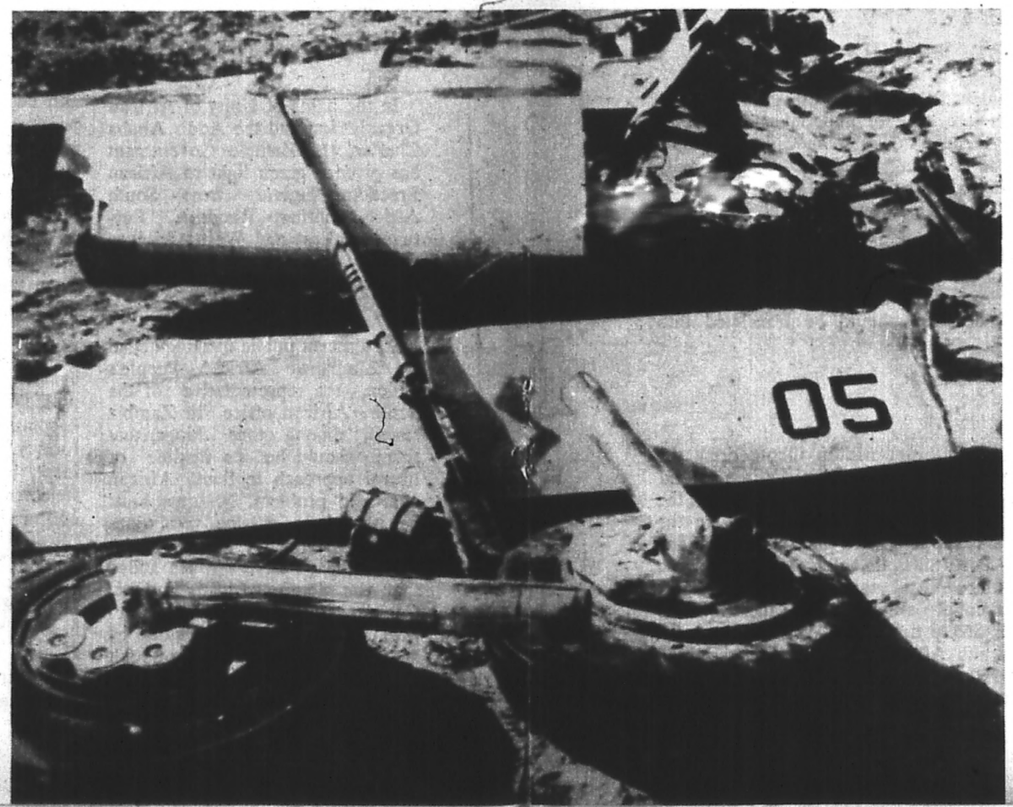
Vietnam:

WORLD WIDE SUPPORT FOR VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE.
U. S. AGGRESSIVE POLICIES MEET DEFEAT.

JAPAN

CHINA

REMNANTS OF SHOT - DOWN YANKEE PLANE



NORTH VIETNAMESE DEFENDING THEIR HOMELAND

VOICE OF AFRICA

— To Support the Peoples Struggle in Non-Independent African Countries;

— To Condemn Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism, and Express their determination to uproot these evils from their Continents.

The Second Summit Conference of African States successfully concluded its five-day meeting in Cairo, UAR, on July 21, amidst warm applause. Decolonisation of Africa was one of the main problems discussed at the conference.

Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of the Arm Forces of the Sudan announced its conclusion with the statement "Let Africa be liberated !"

NASSER

President Nasser of the UAR, host of the conference, declared at the session that the conference pointed to the whole of Asia and Latin America the solidarity of the people's fight for liberty. He said, "We struggle against all that which is negative in our lands : Imperialism, Racial Discrimination and Backwardness."

BANDA

On behalf of the other heads of state at the conference, Malawi Prime Minister Hastings Banda spoke in reply. He said that the Conference was a success and "We Africans will unite for the good of our continent and our people."

During the five-day deliberations, most speakers voiced their support for the people's struggle in those African countries yet to attain independence.

The African Leaders condemned imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and expressed their determination to uproot these evils from their continent.

BEN BELLA

Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella called for solidarity of the African nations in their struggle against imperialism. He said : "We must understand that our enemies are the same and they are called imperialism and colonialism". He added : "Algeria has given consistent and decisive aid to the movement for liberation". He assured the Conference that Algeria "Has no other enemy than those who are bent on encroaching upon Africa and perpetuating their domination in various fields."

NKRUMAH

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana told the Conference that "The enormous task of liberating our continent cannot be undertaken in a spirit of compromise and surrender". He called for a unified government of Africa to cope with all problems posed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. He pointed out that continued exploitation was often accompanied by foreign interference in the internal affairs of African States. Citing Leopoldville Congo as an example, he said that the economy in that country "Is still dominated by three foreign groups which represent Belgian, French, and British and American interests".

SEKOU TOURE

Guinea President Sekou Toure stressed : "African Unity demands the death of imperialism and colonialism in Africa". He added "The Guinean people would rather be poor in an Africa which is really independent, united and with a future, than live in an Africa rich but divided and exploited by imperialism and colonialism". Regarding foreign bases in Africa, he said : "We decided at Addis Ababa on the abolition of all foreign military bases in Africa and the denuclearisation of the continent. This just and dynamic decision should be translated into reality".

OBOTE

Uganda Prime Minister Milton Obote drew the Conference's attention to neo-colonialism in a second scramble for Africa. Referring to the situation in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Obote said that the "NATO Powers supplied and are still supplying military aid to Portugal in its colonial war in Angola and Mozambique, "And that The United States maintained an unholy alliance with Salazar. Obote declared emphatically that "The White settlers' government in South Africa has taken a lead in the military preparedness and has entered the nuclear club by an earlier agreement with the U.S.".

KEITA

Mali President Modibo Keita declared after the Conference that the Conference had proceeded very well. He pointed out that some decisions adopted at the Conference would make the African States undertake responsibilities concerning de-colonisation and the setting up of organisations for better co-ordination of their policies. Keita said that the Summit Conference "is a very important landmark on the road of the organisation of African States towards real and more effective unity".

KENYATTA

Kenyan Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta called for the eradication of colonialism and neo-colonialism from Africa. "We are not truly free when Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa and other territories are still under European domination", he declared. The struggle for liberating the remaining parts of Africa might need even greater sacrifices but it would never fail, he noted.

BALEWA

Nigerian Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his speech condemned racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa and demanded that the interest of three and a half million Africans in South Rhodesia be safeguarded. All African political leaders either in prison or in detention should be released as the precondition for a constitutional conference leading to independence of Southern Rhodesia which should be convened without delay, he declared.

SELASSIE

Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie the first said at the meeting : "Our quest above all else is to assure to Africa and to each African state fullest and most complete measure of freedom — freedom from all remnants of colonialism ; freedom neo-colonialism whatever form it may take ; freedom from political and military threat ; freedom from aggression ; freedom from interference by others in our internal affairs ; freedom from economic domination ; freedom from danger of nuclear destruction."

BOURGUIBA

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba in his speech said : "It is impossible to establish any sincere union among African countries if they are unable to agree at least on the principle of condemning colonialism and if there is no solidarity with all peoples whose freedom or homeland has been wrenched from them by force".

ABBOUD

Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of the Sudan said : "In the field of economy, there is veiled imperialism which more serious than open imperialism. Veiled imperialism wants us to sell materials to it at the lowest prices ..... and to buy manufactured goods at the highest prices". He deplored the recent Geneva Conference for development and trade, which, he said, "Did not realise our hopes".

MWAMBUTSA

King Mwami Mwambutsa of Burundi said that the African people were striving to eliminate all "Bad effects of Old and New Colonialism". "We should liberate our (African) countries from imperialism and save our wealth from looting by imperialism", he said. The King greeted and extend unreserved support to the people fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

OSMAN

A message from Somali President Osman said, "The OAU must work for liberating Africa from old and new colonialism". Osman called on all OAU members to support the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South-west Africa, Portuguese Guinea and French Somaliland, and to take steps to liquidate the imperialist bases in Africa and sever relations with South Africa and Portugal.

NYERERE

President Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar said that the liquidation of colonialism and African unity remained the two primary problems of the continent. He noted that Britain and Portugal were still controlling a large part of Africa, and "our taak here is not to persuade Africa, ourselves, to take necessary action to free Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea".

KAUNDA

Prime Minister Kaunda of Nothern Rhodesia said, "The imperialists thought that they came to our country to stay. But we told them that they would decay". He expressed the hope that the time would come when all Africa is liberated from imperialism. He said he wished to see Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South-west Africa and South Africa free.

CABRAL

On behalf of the African National Liberation Movements, Secretary General of the African Independence Party of (Portuguese) Guinea and Cape Verde Inlands, Amilcar Cabral delivered a joint memorandum to the Conference. He reviewed in his speech the victories won by the African people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for independence. He urged the independent African countries to give still greater support to this struggle.

APITHY

Sourou Migan Apithy, President of Dahomey stressed the necessity of extending support to those peoples who are still under colonial rule. He said : "No genuinely independent African country is not

aware of its obligation to their brothers subjected to colonial yoke, colonial, imperialist exploitation, or the degradation of apartheid. "We should with all our efforts support these peoples in their revolutionary struggle for independence", he added.

MARGAI

Prime Minister of Siera Leone Albert Margai called for vigilance against inroad of imperialism and neo-colonialism which assumed diverse forms to undermine African Unity. He condemned racial discrimination in South Africa and White minority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

PRESS STATEMENT

The question of decolonisation in Africa was one of main preoccupation of the African Summit Conference, declared a press statement released by the spokesman of the Secretariat of the Conference in Cairo, on July 21st.

On the question of apartheid, the statement said, "The Assembly adopted a resolution requesting the co-operation of all countries and in particular the major trading partners in the boycott of South Africa; appealing to all oil-producing countries to cease as a matter of urgency their supply of oil and all petroleum products to South Africa; and calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu. Manalisso Sobukwe and all other opponents of apartheid imprisoned or detained under the repressive and arbitrary laws of South Africa".

The Assembly also decided to establish a bureau within the General Secretariat of the Organisation of the African Unity (OAU) charged with the specific task of co-ordinating plans and actions of member-states to implement an effective boycott of South Africa, and promoting, in co-operation with other international bodies, a campaign for international economic sanctions against South Africa by all appropriate means.

"On the question of Southern Rhodesia, the Assembly vowed to take a vigorous and immediate step against any unilateral declaration of independence of Southhern Rhodesia by a European minority government. The African Heads of State further pledged themselves to take appropriate meansures, including the recognition and support of an African Nationalist Government in exile should such an eventually arise".

The statement continued: "The Assembly called upon the British Government to convene immediately a constitutional conference of representatives of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia to prepare a new and democratic constitution ensuring majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote". The Assembly also called for the immediate release of Joshua Nkomo, Ndabanigi Sithole and all other political prisoners and drainees.

The Assembly also called upon the Nationalist Movement in Southern Rhodesia to intensify their struggle for immediate independence.

Regarding the question of territories under Portuguese domination, the statemen said, "The African Heads of State and Government condemned Portugal for its persistent refusal to recognise the right of the peoples under its domination to self-determination and independence".

The Assembly decided to set up a bureau within the OAU General Secretariat to co-ordinate between members-states the strictest implementation of the resolutions of the OAU and to harmonise co-operation with friendly states so as to implement and effective boycott against Portugal.

Having examined the situation that would face Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland on attainment of independence, the statement said, the Conference "Decided that the OAU should, in consultation with the authorities of the three territories, work for the guarantee of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of these territories by the United Nations".

The Assembly examined the report of the Liberation Committee and decided to maintain its membership at nine without alternation. It decided that each member-state should pay for this year an obligatory minimum sum to the special Liberation Fund until a scale of assessment was established.

The press statement declared: "The Assembly considered ways and means of consolidating inter-African co-operation in all fields of endeavour leading to the goal of African solidarity and unity".

The Assembly also fixed Addis Ababa as the seat of the Headquarters of the OAU. It elected Diallo Telli of Guinea to be the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, and four Assistant Secretaries from Dahomey, Algeria, Kenya and Nigeria.

FOCAL POINT

Continued from page 4

in the Congo a Tsombe is propped up; and in South-East Asia they intend to pour out a quarter million forcing troops. But all this does not constitute the main stream of History! All this is but the back-wash of history, and thus only temporary in nature and unable to withstand the strong current of the main stream. It will surely be swept away, it will surely be submerged! Surely! as sure as the sun will rise again on the morrow!

Yes, there are indeed difficulties, but we will solve those difficulties together — that's what the Revolution is for! — we will crush those difficulties, — that's what the Revolution is for, and — we can take it! The most stinking disease to afflict a struggle is hypocrisy! Hypocrisy is the source of all weakness, the source of division, the source of reformism, the source of compromise, the source of revisionism, the source of the downfall of romanticism, dynamism and dialecticalism, the source of treason, the source of all flirtation with the enemy.

Doomed is a Revolution that is filled with hypocrites. Therefore, uproot hypocrisy wherever it may nestle, kick out hypocrisy from every direction!

OCCUPIED SOUTH YEMEN

– a people's struggle

by
Ibrahim Khreishi

The South occupied Yemen is boiling with revolution against the British Colonial rule and its old and new colonial schemes to perpetuate its ruthless domination there. The struggle of the people of occupied South Yemen has gained momentum and its tide armed struggle is prevailing all over this region and the flames of revolution is in progress determined to sweep and wipe out the British Colonialism and its stooges and puppet regimes in Aden and the numerous so-called Imirates, Sheikhdoms and Protectorates.

BRITISH COLONIALIST PIRACY

The occupied South Yemen has been all the time an inseparable part of Yemen until the beginning of the 19th century, when the British colonialists occupied by force of arms Aden as well as other Southern regions in defiance of the lease and contract they had earlier signed with the Imam of Yemen, to use a coastal port at that time by British ships on their way to the East.

To surmount the resistance of the people it has resorted to "divide and rule" policy and thus torn out the region into several Imirates and Sheikdoms. Besides, it has imposed on them series of treaties which tied them up militarily, economically and politically to direct British colonialist rule to secure its maritime route to India and the Far East.

But the people of South Yemen never reconciled to the British ruthless colonial rule and continued to wage heroic struggles to liberate themselves and join their motherland.

After the second world war, Aden has become of vital stratigical importance to the British colonialism, especially after it has lost most of its military bases in the Middle East and East-Africa.

This is besides to the big oil refinary built there some years ago, and the rich oil fields discovered, which aroused the greediness of the American oil monopolies and the USA imperialism to have the lion's share by all means.

"UNITE AND RULE"

Faced with this, British colonialism resorted to the neo-colonialist scheme "unite and rule". Subsequently it cooked-up in London "the South Arabia Federation", by those who cooked-up "the Malaysia Federation" and the late "Central African Federation" that has cracked down.

The aim behind establishing this federation is to weaken the surging national liberation movement and to bolster up their tottering rule after they have become unable to continue their direct and open domination, as well as to block the way in face of their "American Allies" infiltrations. Thus they planned to merge all the Imirates and Sheikhdoms with Aden "colony" in a so-called "sovereign state" with all powers concentrated in the hands of a British governor.

This has aroused the legitimate indignation of the people, especially the workers, who played and still play the most important role in the struggle to bury this neo-colonialist plot. Inspite of the bloody repressions and arrests, workers, students and the masses of the people displayed great courageous and organised strikes, demonstrations etc.

WINDS OF THE YEMENI REVOLUTION

On the 26th September, 1962, the Yemeni people with the patriotic army officers staged a successful revolution and overthrew the most out-dated feudal monarchy in Yemen. British colonialism was struck with fear and alarm over the fate of its colonial interests and neo-colonialist Federation.

Such concern was reflected by the British press, such as the *London Financial Times*, which said on 2nd October, following the Yemeni Revolution, that there is little possibility in the meantime for Aden "colony" to join "the South Arabia Federation" from now until the 1st of next March (1963), and that the prospects which have never been satisfactory in any day, are today getting increasingly gloomy

also, because of the Yemeni events, since the revolution in this country may change the situation in the whole Arab Peninsula.

With these sweeping revolutionary winds blowing over the Arab Peninsula, US imperialism, which was trying by hook or crook and manoeuvring to replace the British troubled Johns, felt the danger over their oil interests in the Arab Peninsula, especially in Saudi Arabia.

Thus, reserving their contradictions and underground fight for the Arab oil, the Anglo-American imperialists worked hands in gloves, instigating their collaborators in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, as well as the "Sheikhs' " troops under direct of British officers, to stamp out the Yemeni Revolution.

With the failure of the armed intervention backed and actively supported by Anglo-American imperialists, and the mounting indignation of the masses that swept the Arab world, endangering the tottering regimes especially in Saudi Arabia and Jordan as well as the American oil interests, Washington has resorted to manoeuvres of peaceful mediation to save its interest and secure a lion's share. But all these manoeuvres have been failed.

Although the UNO last session, inspite of Anglo-American pressure, adopted a resolution after examining the report of the decolonialisation committee which stressed the necessity of holding general elections in the whole region so that the people can determine their destiny, freely without any foreign intervention, and demanded the dismantling of the military base in Aden, yet the British government is still reluctant to carry it out.

Soon after, it has launched a campaign of bloody repression and terror, arrested more than 300 leaders of the anti-imperialist parties and trade unions, and exciled them to the oasis where they were exposed to inhuman tortures.

Besides, it has committed at will continuous open aggressions against Yemeni Republic, bombing and strafing towns and villages using napalm bombs. Noteworthy was the stand of the US representative in the security council of UNO who tried to blame Yemen for the British aggression against the Yemeni town Harib around the end of last March.

ARMED STRUGGLE

The British authorities thought that through such criminal repressions and aggression, they can stamp out the national liberation movement or frighten it. But the result was they have kindled the flames of revolution.

The revolutionary people of South Yemen in face of this had no other alternative but to resort to armed struggle and meet the violence of the colonialists with violence, in order to drive out the British colonialists, and achieve their liberation and reunification of their motherland.

LONDON CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

To cope with this critical situation, the British government has organised on the 9th last June a London constitutional conference in an attempt to strengthen its Federation. It has invited its stooges to the conference. The national leaders and trade unionists exposed the trick and boycotted the conference. Arab people as well as Arab States expressed their condemnation to this funny conference, which has decided to further "democratize" the constitution of the Federation, in order to prepare the region for independence after four years period. It has decided also that Britain will continue to keep the Aden military base after the promised independence, and its right to defend the Federation. All this has to be embodied in a treaty before independence.

Worthy mentioning is the fact that these terms did not satisfy even some of the participants. Sultan Ahmad Al Fudhli, the president of the Federation's council and the head of the protectorates' delegation walked out and announced the withdrawal of his Fadhli Sheikhdom from the Federation.

US IMPERIALISM, FEROCIOUS ENEMY OF ARABS !

Before the London conference, Butler, the British foreign Secretary, rushed to Washington in the wake of King Hussein's visit to the White House. According to press reports, Butlers's visit was to block a deal King Hussein was delegated to negotiate with Washington involving the future of South Yemen. Butler, contrary to the contradicting reports, quoting the State Department spokesman in a press statement, assured the backing of Washington to the British neo-colonialist Federation of South Arabia. The price, it was assured, was a British support to the US aggressive policy in Indo-China. Thus US imperialism once again proved to be the most ferocious enemy of the Arab pepole.

Recently, on the 5th last July, the leaders and hoped to lay down solid bases for national unity occupied South Yemen held a conference in the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo. The conference reiterated the demand to put an end to the repressions and strafing of villages and mopping-up operations, the dismantling of Aden military base, the abolition of the state of emergency, the immediate release of all detainees, and the right to self-determination for the people to decide their future through a free universal suffrage. This conference is representatives of the mass organisations in the among all national forces of South Yemen.

UN ROLE !

The Arab people in fact, with the fresh memory of the Congo, did not and will never expect any decisive or positive outcome of the UN efforts; Simply because it is dominated by US imperialism which has planted Israel as an aggressive base in the heart of the Arab world, and rendered and continue to render to it an all out moral and material support in its aggressive schemes.

The South Yemeni people have found their way to smash the neo-colonialist Federation, and foil the dirty manoeuvres of the US impelialism. They are fighting heroically with arms in hands a just battle for complete liberation and reunification of their motherland. They are sure to win, whatever the sacrifices may be, having on their side all tne Arab people and the anti-imperialist forces with the Afro-Asian journalists and their militant organisation in the lead.

Indonesian Press

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turned into "Japanese victories" and the like. Such were their ways to hoodwink the people. Public opinion almost came to believe that Japan could not be defeated by United States imperialism and its Dutch and Australian allies. The national spirit (a chauvinist nationalism) was continuosly enforced on the people, on the reading public in particular. It also needs mentioning that the journalists, who did not like collaboration with the Japanese, were obliged to leave and abandon their work in the paper and had to carry on their activities in an illegal way together with revolutionary political personalities in order to overthrow the Japanese power.

The Period of Independence

The newspapers published around August 17, 1945, (The day of the proclamation of Independence) are papers of the revolution by which I mean to say that these papers were born out of, and reflecting and struggling to safeguard the revolution.

In Djakarta, *"Berita Indonesia"* (Indonesian News) was published in the beginning under the leadership of Suraedi Tahsin. In Bandung appeared *"Soeara Merdeka"* (Freedom Voice) edited by Moh. Kurdi and others. Central Java witnessed the birth of the magazine *"Merah Putih"* and *"Indonesia Raja"* (Great Indonesia) which two later on merged and were continued as *"Lasjkar"*.

The Japanese newspaper *"Sumatra Shinbun"* changed its name into *"Sumatra Baru"* (New Sumatra) and later on into *"Suluh Merdeka"* (Freedom Torch) under the leadership of Jahja Jacub.

In the meanwhile, in Jogja the seat of the central government of the Indonesian Republic, various magazines and papers were published by the left group. On February 5, 1946, the weekly *"Revolusioner"*, was published, the official organ of the Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo-the Indonesian Socialist Youth) led by Supeno. *"Revolusioner"* after two years was changed into a daily newspaper.

The Pesindo had other newspapers and magazines besides the one mentioned, *"Penghela Rakjat"* (which was printed in Magelang and edited by Trihakoso). It was at this time too, that *"Bintang Merah"* (Red Star) began its history, under the leadership of D.N. Aidit, M.H. Lukman and Njoto.

There are also appeared in Jogjakarta *"Buruh"* (Worker) under the leadership of Islan and *"Suara Ibukota"* (the vioce of the Capital) with Wikana as chief editor.

All these newspapers and magazines of the left group were forced to stop their publication at the beginning of what is called the "Madiun Affair", the period of the white terror, impelled by United States' imperialism, which attacked the left group in Indonesia in September 1948.

In the years between 1949 and 1959, an atmosphere of increasing democracy reigned, in which the Indonesian newspapers were giving a genuine reflection of the prevailing divison by exuding abusive language on each other. This situation came to an end in the year 1959 at the moment that President Sukarno brought about the Political Manifesto (Manipol) which closed a period of confusion and started a new era, the era of guided democracy.

Finished was the history of Masjumi (Moslem party) and Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI — right socialist party) newspapers like *"Abadi"* (Eternal) and *"Indonesia Raya"* (Great Indonesia) that had a tremendous interest in splitting up the Indonesian people. Three newspapers that are reflecting the Nasakom power, *"Suluh Indonesia"* (Torch of Indonesia), *"Duta Masjarakat"* (The Envoy of the People) and *"Harian Rakjat"* (People's Daily) all published in Djakarta, constitute the information centre of political life in Indonesia.

No matter how the Imperialists' batterings go on persistently, Imperialists will be shattered to pieces, but the world people (are going to march on and) will be victorious !

WHITE SOUTH AFRICA

EXPELLED FROM I.O.C.

In October this year the 18th Olympic Games will take place in Tokyo, Japan. Because of its racialist policies within the sporting world and its oppressive policies, the South African White sporting world has been banned from taking part in the forthcoming games. The struggle to exclude White South Africa has been very long and arduous one, a struggle which was embroiled with various sinister machinations by groups in South Africa who have fallen prey to "multi-racialism', or who only wanted certain concessions from the I.O.C.

That this is only the first step in the sports struggle in South Africa and not the culminating point as certain reactionary opportunistic bodies maintain in, as well as outside, South Africa, is as clear as daylight. The next step is the recognition of SAN-ROC — the alternative to the all white South Africa Olympic Committee. The revolutionary struggle in South Africa has reached a supernal point, where it has become absolutely necessary to state with clarity, and with no holds barred, the true position of the revolutionary forces and struggle (in all fields) that govern the situation in South Africa. It is hoped that the background article following culled from PAC News and Views will be the beginning of the true depiction of the revolutionary situation obtaining in South Africa, as well as the honest portraiture of the generating forces that direct the struggle in South Africa.

Here for the first time the backgrourd to the Suspension of South Africa from the Olympic Games is honestly and with piquancy stated. It is essential for all honest revolutionaries to have first hand information about this great step in the field of sports in South Africa, for as stated in the first editorial of the "AFRO-ASIAN JOURNALIST" not only is information of our struggle in all fields essential but the background glimpses of such events are of prime importance. The Pan African Congress of South Africa, the most revolutionary and militant majority national liberation movement in South Africa, is to be congratulated in their consistent struggle in the field of sports, and their unflinching support for Ahmed Ebrahim, secretary of SAN-ROC, in his successful endeavors to get White South Africa expelled from the I.O.C. The next step as stated above is the recognition of SAN-ROC by the I.O.C. Whether the US Imperialist dominating the I.O.C. will ever take this step is a matter that needs little discussion. Only the complete and radical re-composition of the I.O.C. where the New-Emerging forces will dominate and direct activity, makes such a step a possibility.

That SAN-ROC has recognised this is self-evident in a recent joint statement issued by itself and the All-China Sports Federation. Inter-alia the statement pointed out that "the I.O.C though outwardly proclaiming to detest discrimination in international sporting activities on political, religions or racial grounds, has adopted for 56 years and still continues to adopt a shielding and conniving attitude to the racial discrimination policy of the South Africa colonial authorities".

The statement further emphasized "the GANEFO held in Indonesia in November 1963 achieved great success. It has formed a strong force in breaking through the monopoly and manupulation of international sports by imperialism and colonialism, new and old, and for promoting the independent development of sports by the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other new emerging countries". SAN-ROC pledged itself to work for the cause of GANEFO. This attitude by SAN-ROC is a realistic and revolutionary one which recognises the new forces at hand and the favourable changing situation in the sports world.

Lionel Morrison

BACKGROUND TO SOUTH AFRICA'S SUSPENSION FROM OLYMPIC GAMES

The venon of Apartheid is far stretched, infiltrating and governing every aspect of our lives. Discrimination and deprivation, the nett result of Apartheid, manifests itself even in the sphere of South African sports. The prime requisite for international participation had to be considered within the framework of Apartheid when athletes were chosen on the grounds of colour.

South Africa enjoyed recognition by the world sporting organizations and in certain circles continues to enjoy this recognition, despite the obvious fact that its sportsmen were chosen on the grounds of colour. Athletic feats, in South Africa sports, assumed secondary importance and for a period of almost half-a-century the whites monopolised the privilege extended to South Africa sportsmen by international sporting organization. The deliberate exclusion of the great majority of the sportsmen of South Africa, from the South African teams on racial grounds, had to be checked.

In 1958, a positive step was taken to curb this unmitigated scourge in the South African sports arena, with the formation of the South African Sports Association, a national sports organization emerged adopting a noracial constitution. This organization correctly signalled a death-blow to racial bodies who exclusively enjoyed the privilege of participating in international tournaments.

EARLY SASA SUCCESS

Sasa dedicated itself to rid South African sports of this blatant discrimination introduced by adherence to the Apartheid Policy of the South African Government. SASA, proudly representing the majority of the sportsmen of South Africa and pursuing a universally-accepted policy, rightly challenged the existence of racially constituted minority sports organizations purporting to represent South Africa. SASA was immediately crowned with success, when the International Table-Tennis Federation expelled the racially constituted South African Table-Tennis Association and recognised SASA's affiliate, the South African Table-Tennis Board of Control.

SASA was greatly encouraged by this initial success and further inspired by a letter from the ageless Arche Moore, the then World Light-Heavyweight Champion who declined to box in South Africa under segregated conditions, and said: "Kid Apartheid has been licked in other arenas before and he will be licked in South Africa too."

SASA diligently tackled every issue on its merits and soon commanded the respect it deserved. It became evident that the control and organizing of sports for international tournaments would be vested in SASA, or any other non-racial organization. The racialists would then be compelled either to isolate themselves from international sports or join non-racial clubs.

SOUTH AFRICA WARNED

In 1958, SASA protested to the IOC against the conspicuous absence of African athletes in the South African teams for the past 50 years. This protest led to an inquiry and in June 1962, the following resolution was adopted by the IOC executive:

> "the IOC is to write to the South African Olympic Cimmittee and inform them that, if the policy of discrimination practised by their Government in this regard does not change before our session takes place in October, 1963, the IOC will be obliged to take action against this Committee".

Action by, the IOC at its October session seemed inevitable because of the Governments intransigent reaction to resolutions urging it to abandon the practice of Apartheid. In anticipation, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) was formed in October, 1962. The formation of SAN-ROC meant the existence now of an alternative National Olympic Committee to replace the All-White body when expelled from the IOC.

The issue from the outset had well-defined goals and SAN-ROC had therefore to convince the IOC of the discrimination practised by the all-white body; demand its expulsion and concurrently seek recognition itself as the body capable of administering Olympic Sports in South Africa in accordance with the principles of the Olympic Charter. This situation was bound to have far-reaching repercussions. The control of sports administration would pass into the hands of non-racial organization, which when racially viewed would appear to imply the transfer of sports control into the hands of people who are not white.

The South African White traditional way if life would be interfered with if non-racial sport administrators should determine the eligibility of white athletes. This amounted to the slave directing the actions of the master. The transfer of authority to regulate and control sports in South Africa, to non-racial organiztions was fast becoming a reality and was naturally opposed by the racialists.

INSULTING OFFER SPURNED

In 1963, for the first time in 55 years, the South African Olympic Committee agreed to consider a certain number of African athletes for inclusion in their contingent under the most absurd conditions ever suggested in the sporting world. This was designed to pacify the critics and attempt to white-wash racial discrimination. But the proposal would be acceptable to the IOC only if SAN-ROC rightly rejected this half measure and once again demanded the total expulsion of the racists. *THUS SAN-ROC COULD ASK FOR NOTHING LESS THAN EXPULSION FROM THE IOC OF THE ALL-WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE OR ELSE THE VERY PURPOSE OF ITS EXISTENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN DEFEATED.*

The white sports administrators systematically tried to pursuade SAN-ROC and SASA officials to accept the compromise and found their rejection embarrassing. The Liberal Party of South Africa as usual came to their rescue in the guise of a John Harris. Because police intimidation restricted the inflow of personnel, those who were brave enough and came forward, were readily absorbed into SAN-ROC executive. Harris purporting to support non-racial sports, was co-opted on to the executive and he immediately organised a faction advocating suspension and NOT expulsion of the all-white Olympic Committee. The group led by Mr. Dennis Brutus, President of SAN-ROC, and Mr. Ahmed Ebrahim, the secretary, advocated expulsion and since SAN-ROC's delegation to the October IOC session was to comprise of Mr. Brutus and Mr. Ebrahim, the policy SAN-ROC would pursue was not in doubt — it was to press for expulsion of the racial body.

In May, 1963 Harris, who had by now become vice-chairman, without consulting the executive, arranged a private meeting at a very short notice, with the officials of the racial body to discuss a possible merger. Mr. Brutus, learning of this unauthorised act, and because of his dedication to the fight, appeared at this meeting to avert a possible misunderstanding, and was arrested by the Security Police for attending a meeting whilst banned.

After his arrest, Mr. Brutus was unable to exercise a restraining hand on Harris, for the two men were now prohibited by law from communicating with each other, because Harris was to appear as a state witness in the Brutus case. With Brutus thus out of the way, Harris pursued a policy aimed at retaining the white body in the IOC, with SAN-ROC contending merely with acting as a pressure group to squeeze concessions from the racialists.

THE LIBERAL COMPROMISE

In the meantime the venue for the I.O.C. session was switched from Nairobi to Baden-Baden. In an article in the Liberal-financed paper, "Golden City Post" (3/9/'63), Harris publicly adumbrated his compromise plan as follow:

SAN-ROC would instruct its representative at Baden-Baden to withdraw.

SAN-ROC was prepared to join forces with S.A.O.C. (the racialist body) and work with it in all ways as "we see no reason to duplicate sports administration in South Africa; we are prepared to go out of existence and merge with S.A.O.C." Harris' plan, published by "Post" under the headline, OLYMPIC: NEW OFFER", urged the racialist body to.

(a) Hold multi-racial trials (for selection of Olympic athletes outside South Africa, either in the Protectorates or Southern Rhodesia (that is, where there is no racial discrimination in sports).

(b) Call such trials non-racial (that is, to meet the requirements of the Olympic Charter).

(c) SAN-ROC would then disband — thus leaving the control of sports in the hands of Whites.

Harris formulated and advocated this policy in fulfilment of his role as a member of the Liberal Party and in conformity with that Party's political aims. In all aspects the South African question follows the same pattern, be it political, economics, social or in sports — the struggle is between the have's and the have-not's. When the interests of the haves are involved the Liberals in South Africa have consistently come up with "solutions" designed to preserve White interests while offering beguiling concessions to the have nots. The above plan is typical.

A TREACHEROUS ACT

Mr. Ebrahim, the only person in a position to put up effective opposition to the compromise plan proved ultimately to be the only stumbling-block to the Harris manouever. So he had to be got rid of by hook or crook. Cables and telegrams from Harris poured into Tanganyika and Baden-Baden accusing Mr.Ebrahim of all sorts of "crimes". In sheer desperation Harris resorted to blatant falsehoods, including the treacherous act of attempting to link Mr. Ebrahim with the South African Government in order to discredit him in the eyes of the African States, alleging he was an agent of that Government. A certain organisation of South Africa accorded Harris its help in his vendetta campaign against Mr. Ebrahim. For no apparent reason, except perhaps because Mr. Ebrahim is not only not a member of this body but an opponent of its bogus multi-racialist policies, this body gleefully gave currency to false rumours about Mr. Ebrahim, fully knowing that there was no foundation whatsoever for these allegation.

Despite these manouevres, however, Mr. Ebrahim, who was sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity at the request of the Pan-Africanist Congress, successfully argued the case of South Africa's disenfranchised sportsmen at both Baden-Baden and Innsbruck thereby averted yet another Liberal-Multi-racialist sell-out, and put his distractors to shame. South Africa has had its invitation withdrawn and so for the first time in 56 years no racially-selected team will fraudulently represent our land at Olympic Games.

The struggle continues .....

Next Issue

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* JOURNALISTS TRAINING IN CHINA
* HISTORY OF UAR PRESS

AAJA · STATEMENT CONDEMNING US INTERVENTION IN THE CONGO

The U.S. government has begun to supply Tshombe's Congolese puppet regime with U.S. military personnel and equipments. The U.S. imperialism which has been pushing its expansionist aggressive policies in the Congo under cover of the U.N. with the help of its collaborators, has at last cast off its mask to expose its true nature before the Congolese people. and before the whole world.

The U.S. imperialists who have intensified their undeclared war against the South Vietnamese people and against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now are turning their arms against Congolese people who have risen up in arms and are determined to liberate themselves from shackles set by U.S. imperialists, the collaborators and their puppet, Tshombe regime.

We, Afro-Asian journalists strongly condemn this U.S. imperialists direct intervention to the liberation movements of the Congolese people. We denounce U.S. imperialist's intrigue to make Congolese fight Congolese, make Africans fight Africans for the benefit of U.S. imperialism. Afro-Asian journalists will rise up in one and mobilize public opinions to encircle and overwhelm U.S imperialists aggressive intentions, just as we have done when U.S. imperialists tried to provoke D.R.V.

We hail the heroic Congolese people who have risen up in arms against the U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialism is an arch enemy of the people determined to achieve independence. We call on our colleagues to do our utmost in support of the Congolese peopie in their patriotic and righteous fight against U.S. imperialism and for their liberation.

The armed struggle of the Congolese people with firm and full support from anti-imperialist forces of the world will ultimately crush U.S. imperialist aggressions and interventions.

Djakarta, August 22nd. 1964.

AFRO-ASIAN EVENTS DOCUMENTS-REPORTS

* Pan-African Trade Union Federation Resolution.
* Documents of the Tokyo Xth World Conference.
* Declaration of Santiogo de Cuba.

DOCUMENT & REPORT I

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE IInd CONGRESS OF THE PANAFRICAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION

THE Second Congress of the Pan-African Trade Union Federation, held at Bamako from the tenth to the fourteenth of June 1964, examined once again the development of Trade Union movement towards unity since the historic Casablanca Conference.

The Second Congress reaffirms its conviction that this unity constitutes the first condition for the success of the general struggle of African workers against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism and the reaction, for nation independence and for the economic and social progress.

It salutes the working class of Africa who is now becoming more and more conscious of the absolute necessity of the united trade unions and of its role as a forerunner in the unification of the African Continent, a unification of which the Addis Ababa Charter constitutes a concrete and positive realisation.

It salutes respectfully and enthusiastically those who are waging the heroic struggle for the victory of the African workers' and Peoples' cause, and those who have become victims of the reactionary forces.

It stigmatizes the hypocritical actions carried on directly or indirectly by international organizations in view to devide the African workers, to smash their combinative and revolutionary elan, to detour them from their fundamental objectives, to plunge them dangerously into the convulsions of the cold war and to engage them in international conflicts which have no relation to them.

It denounces the organs and the agents of the imperialist infiltration in Africa, where the international splitters movement constitute the most dangerous aspect which must be fought against mercilessly.

It vigorously denounces the manoeuvres of the anti progressive governments in service to the foreign interests, which under pseudo-democratic dress, try to perpetuate their previliges to inslave and to impoverish the working class.

It declares its solidarity with all workers and peoples the world over who are fighting for independence, national unity and freedom to choose their political and economic systems and particularly with people of South Vietnam and Cuba.

It appeals to the workers to arm themselves with vigilance, to avoid and reject all backward concept of governments belonging to the reactionary or the opportunist parties who declare themselves to be in agreement with the workers but in reality disagree with the organization which tends to serve the working class not under cover of revolutionary verbalism which is sterile and mystifying.

It solemnly proclaims its willingness to respect and to defend the principle of actions of Trade Unionism in Africa, a principle of independence and unity both on national and continental scales.

It expesses its unconditional support and its solidarity to trade unions who are still waging a struggle against colonialism and racialism, for independence and liberty and urges them :

— to massively organize the workers;

— to broaden the mass consciousness by introducing a social and revolutionary content in their concept of struggle for national liberation ;

— to place revolutionary combativity and courage as examples in the struggle.

— to be the conscious and responsible vanguard in a vast people's move, and where the peasants form the essential base.

It assures its solidarity with the authoritative organizatioons in countries still under neo-colonialist and reactionary domination and urge them :

— to oppose the manoeuvres of divisionism and of interference of the feudal and neo-colonialist forces, using two great arms, the unity of the workers and the independence of trade union from the anti-popular power and consequently the counter-revolutionary.

— to wage the struggle using all means against economic exploitation and the falsification of the will of the popular masses.

— to work in view for a regroupment of all the democrats and the patriots of countries around authentic revolutionary slogans, in accordance with the requirements of the time the preocupations and sentiments of the popular masses in every determined stage.

It assures its support to the African trade unions by the service for the State of the workers and peasants which assumed in accordance with the revolutionary political apparatus, their responsibility in the domain of economic management and constant improvement of the production, of revolutionary orientation of forming political, economic and social cadrs and the diffusion of the ideals of the working class.

In the economic domain, the Second Congress urges all the workers to struggle to promote a policy of economic independence and to create the favourable conditions for mobilizing the mass to the realisation :

— of agrarian reform that eliminates the colonial propriety and the feudal structure that hampers the agricultural development.

— of the nationalization of the resources and industries which are indispensable to the economic life of the countries, which are under the control of foreign enterprises.

— of the development of national industry.

— of the democratization of the State and of the establishment of popular programs capable to mobilise all the national forces for independence and against the attacks of imperialists and neo-colonialists.

— of State control on foreign trade and for the development of cooperation with all countries on the bases that exclude all interference in the internal affairs of each country.

— of the diversification of production and the introduction of new cultures.

— of the creation of an African Common Market free from all neo-colonialist influence.

In the social field, the Second Congress urges to all the workers to continue the struggle in order to promote a social policy tendung :

— to assure the recognition of the labour law and the guaranteeing of employment.

— to encourage the signing of the collective conventions for the workers in industry, commerce, agriculture and public service.

— to realise a vast program of professional formation.

— to create and to develop a system of social security administered by the workers and entirely for their service.

For the success of the actions of the workers and peasants of Africa who are engaged in the implacable struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism and reactionary, for the complete economic and social liberation of our people, for the fight against exploitation of man by man in all its forms in Africa, for the establishment and the reign of genuine democracy, the Second Congress of the Pan-African Trade Union Federation earnestly requests all national trade unions the immediate and concrete realisation of their unity based on the national plan.

DOCUMENT ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SESSION OF THE X th WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN BOMBS ——

Tokyo, August 2nd, 1964

To prevent the danger of nuclear war, it is essential of support the struggles of all the peoples of the world and, in particular, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for national independence and liberation. The people of these continents constitute over two-thirds of the world's population and their liberation is the firmest guarantee for achievement of world peace.

We call on all those who love peace, all peace organisations and movements:

1. To support the courageous S. Vietnam people who, under the National Liberation Front have achieved brilliant successes in their daring patriotic struggle against the special aggressive war of U.S. imperialism ! Demand the strict adherence to the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Withdraw all U.S. troops and personnel. Curb U.S. plans to extend the war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. And let the Vietnam people settle their own problems without any outsidê interference !
2. Support the proposal of the Neo Lao Haksat, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for early convening of the 14-Power Conference on Laos and strict adherence to the Geneva Agreements on Laos. Demand the U.S. stop aggression in Laos. Respect the national independence, peace, neutrality and unity of Laos !
3. Support the Japanese people's struggle against the U.S. nuclear rearming of Japan, and for the dismantling of all U.S. military bases. Withdraw all U.S. troops ! Restore Okinawa and Ogasawara islands to Japan ! For peace and national independence !
4. Support the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. colonial rule in South Korea for withdrawal of the U.S. troops from there and independent peaceful unification of Korea !
5. Support the Korean and Javanese peoples' struggle against the "Rok-Japan Talks" and the scheme of the Japanese militarists to re-invade South Korea !
6. Support the just struggle of the people of North Kalimantan and Indonesia to crush the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" concocted by the British and supported by U.S. imperialism, aimed to protect economic and military imperialist interests and to extend further military bases in South East Asia !
7. Support the Chinese people in the just struggle for the liberation of their own territory of Taiwan and demand the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations !
8. Support the Arab people in their opposition to neo-colonialist plots in which Israel is a tool and base for aggression against the Arab People's Liberation Movement and Peace in the Middle East. Condemn the Israeli plan to divert the Jordan River with the aid of U.S. imperialism. Fully support the struggle of Palestina Arabs for the restoration of their homeland. Support the struggle of the Arab people for the dismantling of all military bases. Support the struggle to free Oman, occupied South Yemeni people against British colonialists and the neo-colonialist Federation of South Arabia ! For full liberation and unification of their homeland !
9. Support the struggle of the newly independent African countries who are continuing the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism and consolidating and safeguarding their national independence. Support the contribution made by the African Heads of States Conference to African unity against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, oppose military bases set up by the U.S. and other imperialist countries in Africa.
10. Support the just armed struggle of the Congolese people against neo-colonialism imposed by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Support unconditionally the heroic struggle for national independence of the people of Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Saotome and Principe !
11. Support the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination and apartheid, and demand the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukawe, and other freedom fighters. Support the struggle for national independence of the people of Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland and all other African colonies. Support the armed struggle of the Cameroon people under the leadership op Union of the People of the Cameroons against French neo-colonialism supported by U.S. imperialism, for genuine independence and social progress !
12. Support the Cuban people in their declaration "Santiago de Cuba" and energetically condemn aggression, subversion and call to counter-revolution by Yankee imperialism. Oppose the U.S. sponsored organisation of American States Meeting of Foreign Ministers which imposed sanctions against Cuba. Support the struggle of the Venezuelan patriots and other countries like Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, etc. Condemn the U.S. imperialist aggression as witnessed in the military coup d'etat in Brazil and the Dominican Republic. Demand the return of the Panama Canal to the people of Panama and Guantanamo in Cuba to their rightful owners. Demand the independence of Puerto Rico and British Guiana, Guade Loupe and the colonies of Latin America.

    We call on the Afro-Asian Latin American peoples to heighten their vigilance and to resist all manoeuvres and schemes hatched by U.S. neo-colonialism. The Afro-Asian Latin American peoples who are fighting brutal armed suppression and other forms op oppression are fully justified in using any means, including armed struggle, to defend themselves.
13. The people of Western Europe, especially the working people, with every passing day, are growingly conscious that the must resist attemps by the United States to dominate their countries, deprive them of their national independence and transform their countries into bases for nuclear war. We fully support their struggle to prevent the arming of West Germany through Nato by the creation of multilateral nuclear force, and the struggle for national independence being waged against all military bases. We call on the people of Western Europe to support the oppressed nations and people and not to allow their youth to be forced to fight in colonial wars.
14. Support the people of Oceania in their struggle against United States military bases in Australia and increased armed intervention in Southeast Asia by Australia and New Zealand as a result of intervention by the United States. Support their demand for withdrawal from SEATO and ANZUS.
15. We support the heroic Negro people of the United States of America in their struggle against U.S. racialism and discrimination for equal rights and human dignity. To realize these demands, it is nesessary for the people of the world to fight unceasingly against the worst enemy of peace — U.S. imperialism ! Firmly support the struggles of all the peoples ! Form the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in defense of world peace.

APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMON ACTION FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR (Excerpts)

The 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs at its international session on August 2 in Tokyo adopted an "appeal for international common action for the prevention of nuclear war, for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and for the strengthening of unity."

The appeal says, the current conference has won tremendous successes after smashing serious divisive schemes from internal and external sources and overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

The Conference is fresh proof that the correct, reasonable line for solidarity and unity must win, says the appeal, while the evil, unreasonable line for a split is bound to lose mass support and fail.

The Conference has promoted the policy line of the movement for peace and the prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen bombs laid down at the successive conferences in the past, and especially the 9th World Conference. It has further strengthened solidarity and unity of the movement.

The 9th World Conference had called on peoples of the world to intensify their efforts in opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in striving for peace, national independence and freedom. Developing with a momentum that no force can make it retard, the movement of the world people is pounding heavily at the forces of aggression and war headed by U.S. imperialism.

It is the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war that constitute the gravest threat to world peace and the source of nuclear war. The U.S. imperialist policy of expanding war in the Indo-china Peninsula involves the danger of a bigger war in the aggression in which nuclear weapons may be used.

The appeal calls for :

Strengthening and expanding the scope of international common action to compel the United States to stop immediately its aggressive war and military manoeuvres in Indo-china. To deal decisive blows at U.S. Imperialism and prevent the war flames there from blazing forth into a nuclear conflagration is the most urgent task of the movement for the prohibition of A and H bombs and sacred duty.

Strengthening worldwide action to oppose the stationing of polaris submarines and the establishment of their bases and to demand the removal of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Intensifying efforts to check the implementation of the NATO plan for a multi-lateral nuclear force, to realise the establishment of a denuclearised zone in the Asian and Pacific region including the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and China, and other denuclearised zones, and to unfold struggles for the abolition of military blocs.

Redoubling efforts and developing more extensive campaigns to prevent the nuclear amring of Japan and its militarisation, oppose the "mooring" of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japan and the stationing there of F-1o5D aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, demand the dismantling of missile bases in Okinawa and the return of that island to Japan, prevent any revision of the Japanese Constitution for the worse, smash the "Japan-Rok Talks," and restore Japan-China diplomatic relations.

The appeal says that we highly evaluate the role played by the National Independence Movement of the Asian, African and Latin American people against imperialism and old and new colonialism in the struggle against nuclear war and for peace. We express warm support for this movement.

We will closely link up the movement against the A and H Bombs and the peace movement with the national independence movement and develop all these movements.

On the experience of the "one-million-people rallies" in Japan, we should carry out creative activities like sponsoring a billion people's meeting throughout the world, a signature campaign among the overhelming majority of the people of the whole world and a peace march across the whole world, to strengthen unity and solidarity still further and make preparations for the Eleventh World Conference Against A and H Bombs.

Recently, some people, while paying lip service to "a unified peace movement", have acted erroneously by putting on a par the 10th World Conference which inherits the historical traditons of the movement and upholds the 9th World Conference resolutions, and the schismatic meeting which negates the conference. Without any principles they support the schismatic meeting. They try to impose their preconceived political line on others so as to retard the movement and reduce it into one completely harmless to imperialism and colonialism. It is of paramount importance to crush these intrigues.

In order to perevent nuclear war effectively, the appeal says, efforts should be made to expose the true nature of the forces of war and strive unremittingly to strengthen the people's force.

It also stresses the importance for all peace-loving people to take a common action against the policies of aggression and war pursued by imperialism. Only when such a common action is taken, can the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons be realised.

In conclusion, the appeal calls for higher vigilance against all forms of splittist and disruptive activities.

DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA

July 26th, 1964 in Santiago, Oriente Province, unanimously adopted the "Declaration of Santiago de Cuba".

The Declaration denounces U.S. imperialism for its aggression and subversive and provocative activities against Cuba.

It declares that the Cuban people reject the resolution on "sanctions" against Cuba and the statement maligning the Cuban revolution adopted at the American Foreign Minister's Conference. It reaffirms the Cuban people's stand of defending the country with their lives.

The full text of the declaration follows :

The Cuban people attending the rally marking the glorious festival of "July 26th" in Santiago de Cuba declare :

1). Morally, the Organisation of American States (OAS) absolutely cannot and has no right whatsoever to put Cuba in the dock and take sanctions againts it.

2). In collaboration with the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and other countries, the United States has introduced thousands of arms and tons of explosives into Cuba to promote subversion and to try to overthrow the revolutionary regime.

3). On the territory and among the armed forces of the United States, as well as on the territories of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica and other Carribean countries, thousands of mercenaries have been organised and trained. They have been, and are employed for carrying out aggression against Cuba.

4). As is known by the public of the whole world, it was from the bases situated in these countries that the Giron Beach expedition was organised which cost the Cuban people hundreds of lives and enormous material losses; it was from the bases in these countries that scores of air and sea piratical attacks were launched against the ports, residential centres and economic installations of Cuba.

5). The Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. government have sent hundreds of specially trained agents to Cuba to carry out sabotage and other gangster-like activities such as assassinating teachers, young literacy workers, ordinary workers and peasants in cruel and brutal attacks on the revolutionary people.

6). From the naval base of Guantanamo Bay which is Cuban territory under the forced occupation of the United States, U.S. marines have perpetrated thousand of provocations against our people. These provocations have reached such extreme gravity that in the past few weeks two soldiers were wounded and one died as a result of the criminal and cowardly opening up of fire from there.

7. Contravening the most elementary norms of international law, U.S. military aircraft, in the past two years, have repeatedly violated the Cuban air space over which Cuba has sovereign power.

8). To turn murderers into judges to try and to take sanctions against a victim country is a cynical action without precedent.

9). The Cuban people reject the imposed sanctions as despicable, shameless and unjust.

10). The Cuban people reject with equal indignation the declaration adopted at the conference which constitutes a shameless appeal to counter-revolution.

11). The Cuban people also warn that if the piratical attacks from the territories of the United States and other countries in the Caribbean are not stopped, if the training of mercenaries for the purpose of conducting sabotage against the Cuban revolution and the introducing of agents, arms and explosives into Cuban territory are not checked, the Cuban people will consider that they have as much right to do what they can to give material assistance to the revolutionary movements taking place in those countries which have interfered in internal affairs of our country.

12). The Cuban people reject the insolent threat of an armed aggression contained in the despicable document and warn that firing without risk on the unarmed people in Panama is not the same as attacking a people who have armed themselves and are ready to defend their country till the last drop of their blood.

We reiterate the words of General Antonio Maceo, the great fighter for our independence that "those who try to occupy Cuba will gain nothing but the dust of its blood-soaked land if they themselves do not perish in the fight".

Fatherland or death ! We are sure to win !

The Cuban people's answer to declaration of the Organisation of American States.

July 26, 1964 ("Economic" year) Santiago de Cuba.

What Our papers Say

Al Chaab (Algiers)

The Second Summit Conference of African states showed that colonialism, imperialism and apartheid are the enemies of the African people. The outstanding victories gained in Cairo would have repercussions over the entire the new-emerging Africa and would provide it with new strength.

The Spark (Accra)

The second Summit Conference of African states shows that Africa has taken the road of revolution to break the shackles of imperialism, however subtle it may be.

Recalling the struggles of the African peoples against foreign oppressors and exploiters, the journal says : "Our people have at last risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Bintang Timur (Djakarta)

The U.S. imperialist atrocity (spraying poisonous chemicals in South Vietnam) is the most barbarous act in modern history, surpassing those committed by the Hitler fascicts.

The United States can not save itself from being defeated in South Vietnam by using noxious chemicals. It is destined to be driven out of South Vietnam.

Minju Choson (Pyongyang)

The resounding victory of the Korean people over the U.S. aggressors has shown that once the people seized state power, united solidly around the Marxist-Leninist Party and fought for the honour, independence and sovereignty of their fatherland, they are invincible.

By their valiant fight, the Korean people were not only defending the freedom and honour of their fatherland but are also safeguarding the Eastern outpost of the Socialist camp. Furhermore, they greatly inspired the national liberation struggle of the Afro-Asian people.

Pan-African (Nairobi)

"Pan-African" carried an article condemning Portuguese colonial brutalities in Angola and exposed Western military support to Portugal to carry on its war of genocide there.

The article said that current situations in all Portuguese colonies were a threat to the independent states. No Africans on this continent could forget the brutal nature of Portuguese imperialism.

Depeche du Cambodge

U.S. planes reconnoitered over Cuba and bombed Cuban industrial centres on the pretext of a Venezuelan complaint against Cuba. But the Cuban people who have experienced a long struggle are not frightened by this prospect. They understand the nature of imperialism well enough to know that any compromise with it is impossible.

The Cuban people and revolutionary government have the sympathy and resolute support of all forces of peace in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Nationalist (Dar es Salam)

No amount of isolation of Cuba by the United States can halt the forward march of the revolutionary Cuban people. Such a policy will inevitably lead to only one end : the isolation of the United States of America in the whole of Latin America.

Cuba has now become the first Latin American state which broke away from U.S. domination.

The Cuban people are solidly behind their government and will not give up the fruits of their revolution through any external pressure.

Zanzibar News Service

It was the imperialists who threatened the freedom and independence of Africa. It was the imperialists who caused the tragedy of the Congo (Leopoldville) and sent arms to Portuguese colonies to spill African blood.

The real issue was one of supporting the people's struggle against imperialism or not, of opposing imperialism or not. We cannot be neutral on this issue because we are intimately involved whether we like it or not. We must actively oppose imperialism headed by the United States.

The Burman (Rangoon)

The Korean war was launched by the U.S. imperialists to bring the Korean people down to their knees, but they, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, stood up dauntlessly against the invaders and forced them to call for a truce.

July 27 should therefore, be remembered as a day when a determined and dauntless people succeeded against heavy odds, in repulsing the imperialist invasion and setting up an independent state and making tremendous and rapid economic, industrial, political and social progress.

Voice of Somalia

The recent African Summit Conference is an important, historical event to the African continent which is creating its future by its own hands. It had made decisions on the national liberation movement and the elimination of all sorts of colonialism from Africa, including veiled colonialism which is creating troubles among the African states. The unity of Africa would surely be strengthened as a result of the Conference.

Al Gomhouria (Cairo)

While trying to have Cuba condemned as an "aggressor" at the American Foreign ministers' Conference, the U.S. forgot all its sabotage against Cuba.

The U.S. government was aggressive and antagonistic to the people's right to freedom. It has sent a military man as an ambassador to South Vietnam and began to extend its war against Southeast Asia and is preparing for provocative and aggressive activities against Cuba. To play this card, the U.S. government was to play with fire.

NEWS and VIEWS

KOREA

* The Permanent Secretariat of AAJA recently received a cordial cable from the Central Committee of the Korean Journalists Union. The latter in this cable thanks AAJA for its active support and solidarity extended to the struggle of the Korean people and journalists for unification of their country in the "Month of Struggle for Withdrawal of U.S. aggressive troops from South Korea". The cable also wishes AAJA "greater success in its struggle against the common enemy – U.S. imperialism".

ALGERIA

* The Union of Algerian Journalists (UJA) was founded in Algiers on July 11.

Among the Executive Committee members elected at the constituent congress were: Belazou Abdelaziz, (Secretary General), Chief Editor of Moudjahid; Benzine Abdelhamid, Chief Editor of Alger Republicain; Amrani Said, Director of Peuple; Goumghar Ali, Editor of African Revolution and Sedikki Hocine, Chief Editor of The Algerian Press Service.

CAMBODIA

* The Cambodian Journalists' Association in a letter dated July 4 th to our Organization expressing its gratitude for AAJA's support to the struggle of Cambodian people against U.S. imperialism. The letter said:

"It was with great pleasure that we saw in no. 2 and 3 of your invaluable magazine "the Afro-Asian Journalist" the Appeal of our Association to all journalists the world over together with the article of Mr. Hu Nim and also the photos of anti-imperialist manifestation of March 11, 1964 and others concerning the Chantrea Massacre committed by the American-South Vietnamese forces in our frontiers on March 19th 1964.

"Please permit us to express our warmest gratitude for the support given by the AAJA to our national cause. We regard that this support is a great contribution to reinforce the anti-imperialist front and the AA solidarity".

KENYA

* Colleagues from the Kenya Afro-Asian Journalists Union wrote to us, saying:

"KAAJU, is declaring very strongly and overwhelmingly, our unreserved support to the policies, plans, actions, resolutions, statements and decisions of dynamic AAJU.

"The KAAJU unanimously and unequvocably declare that we fully support the following decisions, statements and appeal made by the AAJA: (1) The decision of the second secretariat meeting at Bogor, during which time you named 24th April as "Asian African Journalists Day". (2) Statement by the AAJA on the arrest of two Chinese Journalists by the reactionary Coup d'etat Brazilian authorities. (3) The AAJA call for anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We highly your timely and historic call to all hail journalists to protest against U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba and Cambodia, and its political manoeuvres in the international Olympics Committee and to save the lives of nine South African Patriots from the hands of Verwoerd gangster.

"We are as well expressing our highest salutations and thankfulness for having received "THE AFRO ASIAN JOURNALIST". We join you in your just attacks against the anti AAJA manoeuvres, undercover intrigues which is being hatched by reactionary circles either from the imperialist camp headed by U.S. or from other quarters whose chieftains are rapidly coming into an allieance with international imperialists".

PAKISTAN

* The journalists association of Sirajganj, a city of East Pakistan, condemned the barbarous atrocities committed by the U.S. in South Vietnam.

At a meeting held by the association on July 23, the journalists in their speeches demanded immediate cessation of the U.S. savagery. They pledged support for the move taken by journalists, writers and other intellectuals in Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, in handing over a protest note to the U.S. Consul General in Dacca against the U.S. atrocities in South Vietnam.

AAJA

* Deputy Secretary-General of AAJA Mr. Joesoef left Djakarta for Tokyo at the end of last July to attend the 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs on the invitation of the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Mr. Joesoef is also going to Lagos, Nigeria, to attend the Steering Committee Meeting of Pan African Journalists' Union as observer.

AAJA delegates Sukotjo Slamet and Lionel Morrison left for Bamako at the beginning of last July to participate in the activities of the "Week of Youth of Mali" on the invitation of our Malian colleagues, Malian Journalists Association. They also travelled several other African countries.

CEYLON

* The Ceylon Journalists Association issued a statement on July 28th vehemently condemning the South Vietnam puppet government of stifling the freedom of the press and journalists in South Vietnam.

The statement said that they are astonished to note that the South Vietnam regime has recently seized 64 daily newspapers and periodicals and persecuted the journalists in South Vietnam. It pointed out that this has been done under the influence of U.S. imperialism.

The statement demanded immediate restoration of freedom of the press and journalists in South Vietnam.

CHINA

* An agreement of friendship and co-operation was signed in Algiers on July 15, between the Hsinhua News Agency and the Algeria Press Service.

It was signed by Chu Mu-chih, Deputy Director of the Hsinhua News Agency, and Ben Mehal, Director of the Algeria Press Service.

In their speeches at the signing ceremony, both Chu Mu-chih and Ben Mehal pointed out that this agreement will further strengthen the long-existing militant friendship and co-operation between the two news agencies.

The Hsinhua News Agency recently also signed similar agreements with the Ghana News Agency and the Associated Press of Pakistan respectively.

the Afro-Asian Journalist

* Editorial Board: Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Secretary-General: Djawoto.
  Deputy Secretary-General: Joesoef.
* Address: Press House, Djakarta, Republic of Indonesia.
* Monthly Review of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Published in the Interest of Afro-Asian Journalists' Solidarity, and of the struggle against Imperialism/Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism.

"Patrice Lumumba is dead. But his Indomitable spirit in placing his country on the map of Africa as an independent and sovereign State will continue to guide and inspire the struggling countries of Asia and Africa in achieving their own independence. His gruesome murder not only shocked the conscience of the civilized world but convinced it beyond doubt that unless imperialism and colonialism are buried a hundred fathoms deep there will be no peace in the world. The happenings in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Palestine and Kashmir vividly illustrate the varied conspiratorial forms the imperialists and colonialists can assume and the extent to which they can go in achieving their nefarious ends.

"At the earliest opportunity, the journalists of Asia and Africa who met in Djakarta for the first time in April 1963, condemned the foul murder of Lumumba in the strongest terms possible. But the Journalists of Indonesia deserve our highest admiration for their initiative and noble ideals in establishing at Djakarta the Patrice Lumumba Foundation that aims at building a library and a publishing house for publishing material concerning all aspects of life of Asian and African nations in particular and the new emerging forces in general. No better tribute can be paid to the memory of the Great Hero and Patriot of the Congo than the setting up of the Patrice Lumumba Foundation which will be a fresh source of unity and solidarity among the Afro-Asian nations."

Asrar Ahmad

(Pres. Federal Union of Journalists — Pakistan, and Secretary to the AAJA)

LUMUMBA FOUNDATION

DJAKARTA

Printed
by
GITA KARYA
DJAKARTA — INDONESIA